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A SHORT LIFE OF ST. IGNATIUS LOYOLA

Founder of the Society of Jesus

CONVERSION OF ST. IGNATIUS

Frontispiece

A SHORT LIFE OF ST. IGNATIUS LOYOLA

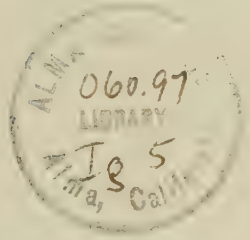
Founder of the Society of Jesus

BY

FR. ANTONIO ASTRAIN, S.J.

Translated from the Spanish by

FR. ROBERT HULL, S.J.



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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

DURING this year (1921) occurs the fourth centenary of the wounding and conversion of our holy Father, St. Ignatius of Loyola. This event, memorable for the whole Church, is for us, the sons of the Society of Jesus, an object of tenderest recollection, and we are preparing to celebrate it with special devotion and filial piety. The faithful are acquainted with the spiritual physiognomy of St. Ignatius—at least in its main lines. All men of sound judgement, and even those who are enemies of the Church, are at one in affirming the originality of thought and the superiority of character of the man who so profoundly influenced his own century, and still continues to influence the modern world.

Nevertheless, while all acknowledge the exceptional greatness of the Saint, there are current certain inexactitudes in the usual presentation of his achievements, and more particularly in the description of the purpose he formed and slowly brought to effect. Beginning with those reviews and periodicals which give the Saint the extravagant name Iñigo Lopez de Recalde (doubtless, thereby, believing that they are winning a name for erudition, whereas, in fact, they are showing their lack of it),[1] we note a fairly general desire to build up grandiose syntheses, and the persistence in an attempt to explain facts through the medium of modern ideas, which certainly never passed through

[1] Cf. *Historia de la Compañia de Jesús en la Asistencia de Espana*, t. I, p. 3 *n*.

the mind of our holy Father. Hence results a view which is somewhat extreme, and which more or less falsifies the picture of St. Ignatius.

In the present work we wish to draw for our readers a faithful picture of the Saint, by setting forth the chief facts of his life. The principal sources of our account are the letters, instructions, and other writings of St. Ignatius, which are now in the hands of the public, thanks to the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu*, together with the letters and narratives of his companions, which have also seen the light in the same publication. We have made use chiefly of the writings of Laínez, González de Cámara, Polanco, and Ribadeneira.

As we are writing a 'Short Life' of the Saint, we omit, first of all, certain false data that have been definitely rejected by scientific history. Further, we omit doubtful facts, the discussion of which would find a place in larger works, but is not suitable in a 'Short Life.' Finally, we have been constrained entirely to pass over facts undoubtedly well-authenticated, and in themselves worthy of record, because the limits of a 'Short Life' are too strait to contain them. Our purpose is to choose out what is most substantial, what is most characteristic of the Saint, and to present it in proper relief, so that all may be moved, first to a true esteem of such marvellous virtues, and then to the imitation, in so far as is possible, of such an heroic example. We shall be happy if this book contributes to the end to which the celebrations of this centenary are directed, viz., that as God is in general glorified in His Saints, so He may be glorified in a special manner this year by the memory of His great servant, and of our beloved Father, St. Ignatius of Loyola.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

THE occasion, purpose, sources, and general character of the Short Life are clearly indicated in the Author's Preface. It remains only to say a word as to this translation. This is not the place to appraise the real, though varied, merits of the work of those who in recent years have given us in the English language an account of the life of St. Ignatius. But it can truly be said that, up to the present time, we do not possess an English Life which can claim to be complete, based on first-hand knowledge of the sources, and written with that sympathetic understanding which only identity of religious outlook and belief can ensure. Fr. Astrain's book is so excellent a piece of work within the limits which he set himself, that a translation into English seems to be justified by the hope that it may immediately and in some measure supply this deficiency. Sympathy with, and understanding of, his subject is, beyond all doubt, amply guaranteed by a life of over fifty years in the Society which Ignatius founded, and where, if anywhere, the living embodiment of his spirit is to be found. His competency in the field of all things Ignatian is probably unrivalled, and in this Life he proves himself a master of vivid and accurate historical narrative. He has not, indeed, attempted an exhaustive treatment of his subject; but, for all that, he has presented the essential facts which must be the basis of a true appreciation of this great Saint. The success of his work

may perhaps be indicated by the fact that within the space of a few years it has been translated into German,[1] Italian,[2] and Portuguese.[3] Though written for a specific and transient occasion, its value is permanent; though addressed primarily to Spanish readers, it will appeal to those of other nations. It is hoped that this translation will introduce the Life to a still wider circle of readers among those who speak the English tongue.[4]

[1] *Der hl. Ignatius Loyola, Verlag Hermann Rauch.* Wiesbaden (1924). By Emil Weber.

[2] *Breve Vita di S. Ignazio di Loyola, Fondatore della Compagnia di Gesù.* Napoli, Via S. Sebastiano, 48-H. (1925), Anonymous.

[3] *Santo Inacio de Loyola, Fundador da Companhia de Jesus.* Porto, Travessa da Carvalhosa, 56 (1927). By Acacio Casimiro, S.J.

[4] Since the above was written, Fr. Astrain has died at Loyola, January 4, 1928. The greater part of his life in the Society, which he entered in 1871, was devoted to literary activity. He was Director of the *Mensajero del Corazón de Jesús*, to which as also to *Razon y Fe*, *Gregorianum*, and the *Catholic Encyclopædia*, he contributed various articles on historical and theological topics. He was also Director of the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu*, and at the time of his death was engaged in supervising the preparation of new volumes of this very important collection of original documents, and in writing a *Compendio de la Historia General de la Compañia de Jesús* undertaken at the express request of the Father-General of the Society. But his chief study, and one which established his reputation as an historian of the first rank, was the *Historia de la Compañia de Jesús en la Asistencia de España* (Madrid, 1902-1925), a work on which he spent thirty-two years of his life. It comprises an Introduction, which gives a masterly picture of the general situation in Europe when Ignatius began his labours, and seven volumes in 4to of more than 600 pages each. In it he traces the history of the Jesuits of the Spanish Assistancy from the beginning of the Society to its suppression, towards the end of the eighteenth century, by Clement XIV. The Short Life of St. Ignatius is a compendium of what he wrote in the first volume of the *Historia*; it stands to-day both as the fruit of long and patient investigation, and as a final tribute to the Father he knew and loved so well. R.I.P.

A word of grateful acknowledgement is due to the Rev. S. Bonet, S.J., whose willing help has been of great assistance in the work of translation.

Heythrop College,
Feast of St. Francis Xavier,
December 3, 1927.

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A Short Life of St. Ignatius Loyola

Founder of the Society of Jesus

CHAPTER I

EARLY LIFE AND CONVERSION (1491-1522)

ST. IGNATIUS was born in the year 1491, in the ancestral home of Loyola, on the borders of Azpeitia, in the province of Guipúzcoa. His parents were Don Beltrán Yáñez de Oñez e Loyola and Doña Maria Saenz de Licona y Balda, both of noble birth, and well provided with this world's goods. They had thirteen children, eight boys and five girls : the last boy was Ignatius. He was baptized in the parish of Azpeitia, and given the name of Iñigo, which was later changed to Ignatius. Don Beltrán was bound by ties of close friendship with Juan Velázquez de Cuéllar, who was *contador mayor*[1] of Ferdinand and Isabella. This illustrious knight, to mark his affection, asked Don Beltrán to entrust one of his sons to him, promising to see to his education in his own house, and, in due course, to find a good opening for him at court.

D. Beltrán committed Ignatius to his care ; and so it came about that the latter passed the greater part of his youth with Juan Velázquez now in Arévalo, now at the court, where his patron often had to reside on

[1] An old title designating an official of the Royal Treasury.—Tr.

account of official duties. Some historians have said that Ignatius was a page of Ferdinand and Isabella: this is not certain, and indeed Ribadeneira rejects it as false. In 1518 Juan Velázquez died, regretting that he was not leaving Ignatius, then aged twenty-seven, established as he had wished in a rank befitting him. After the burial of his patron, Ignatius, with two horses and 500 scudi, presented to him by the dead man's family, took the road to Pamplona, where he was received as a gentleman in the suite of D. Antonio Manrique de Lava, Duke of Nájera, Viceroy of Navarre, with whom he remained for about three years, until May 1521. During all this period of his youth there is not noticeable in Ignatius any striking quality to mark him out from among the noble knights of his time. He possessed, indeed, a robust faith handed down to him from his forefathers; but, as a member of a court and as a soldier, he had his share of that free spirit and quarrelsome boastfulness so common in those days.

Then came the spring of 1521, and all military forces were called out from Navarre to suppress that famous Castilian revolt known in history under the name of the 'Revolution of the Comuneros.' Francis I, King of France, profiting by the favourable opportunity, launched an army of 12,000 men against Navarre, with a view to cutting it off from Castile. The Duke of Nájera, seeing the storm coming, hastened to the centre of Spain in search of help.

When the French army reached Pamplona, the magistrates opened the city gates to them. The castle itself was still intact, and was defended by a few soldiers under the command of Francesco Herrera. The futility of any resistance was soon apparent, and

the same Herrera commenced to treat with the French for an honourable capitulation. He was opposed, however, by Ignatius, who with great vehemence urged all to resist the enemy till victory or death. So the negotiations with the French coming to naught, they fell to fighting. The French turned all their artillery against the castle, with the idea of razing it to the ground. Ignatius stuck to his post, and strove to keep up the spirit of the Spaniards. In the thickest part of the fight, a cannon-ball, passing between Ignatius' legs, seriously fractured his right leg beneath the knee, and slightly wounded his left leg, without, however, breaking the bone. With the fall of Ignatius the defenders lost heart, and handed over the fortress to the enemy. This wounding of St. Ignatius took place on May 20, 1521.

The French took the wounded man and, in recognition of the courage he had displayed, carried him to a house in Pamplona, rendered him 'first aid,' and placing him on a pallet sent him a free man to his native village. Martin Garcia, his elder brother, the master of Loyola after the death of his father, received him home. Surgeons were called, and found that on account either of the hasty improvization of first aid, or of the joltings of the journey, the bones were not well joined : it was, therefore, necessary to break them again, and to set them properly. This they did, and Ignatius suffered that horrible torture motionless, without giving any other sign of pain than a violent clenching of his hands when his suffering was most intense. When the operation was finished, a very high fever set in, together with a great weakness of stomach. His strength was so far wasted that, on the vigil of

St. Peter, he seemed to be *in extremis*. When warned of the danger, he prepared himself for death, and with much devotion received the Last Sacraments. And turning to St. Peter, whose feast was to be kept on the morrow, and towards whom he had always felt devotion, he humbly put his life in his keeping. His prayer was heard by the Prince of the Apostles, and from the following day there was noted in the invalid an improvement that all took to be little short of a miracle.

But his sufferings were not at an end : it was necessary to saw off an ugly protrusion of bone beneath the kneecap, and for many days the wounded leg had to be subjected to the most painful stretchings to prevent it being shortened and deformed. Finally, however, despite his excruciating sufferings, the strength of the invalid returned, and during the second half of 1521 he was convalescent.

This was the moment for the visitation of divine mercy. While convalescing, he asked for some book of knightly adventure to pass the time. None was to be found in the house, and as a substitute they offered him a life of Christ, by Rudolph of Saxony (popularly called *The Carthusian*), translated by Fray Ambrosio Montesinos, together with a volume of the *Flos Sanctorum*, also written in Castilian, by an unknown author. When Ignatius began to read these books he experienced an extraordinary and novel movement of soul. A lively desire to imitate the virtues of Christ, as the Saints had done, began to take root in his heart. Could he not do what others had done ? Could he not clothe himself in sackcloth, walk barefoot, do penance for his sins, and so make certain of the kingdom of heaven ?

After these holy thoughts, there would come a whole crowd of worldly ideas, and the imagination of the young knight flitted over the field of his ambitions and frivolities. Then, weary of the distraction of these fantastic dreams, he would turn his eyes to the book beside him, and the book always brought back to him the thought of imitating Christ.

This conflict of contrary spirits, this alternation of spiritual and worldly thoughts, lasted a long time. At last, however, Ignatius decided to follow Christ and do as the Saints had done. We do not know the precise date of his conversion: the latter, probably, was not an abrupt change, the work of a minute, as it was with St. Paul and St. Augustine, but a slow and gradual movement which, little by little, brought him to the fixed determination to serve God.

Having resolved to change his life, he gave himself up entirely to the reading of the life of Christ and of the Saints. He had a book of 300 leaves elegantly bound, in which he jotted down the holy thoughts which came to him during his reading. At the same time he prayed fervently, asking of God the grace to carry his resolution into practice.

A very special favour from heaven confirmed him in his good purpose. One night, at prayer, the Blessed Virgin with the Child Jesus in her arms appeared to him. They spoke no word, but consoled him with their loving presence, and bestowed on him the priceless gift of the purification of his heart of all impurity. From that instant till his death, Ignatius never fell into the slightest fault against the virtue of chastity.

Comforted by such singular divine favours, and feeling completely recovered from his wounds by

the beginning of 1522, he planned the effectual carrying out of his new mode of life.

For this, it was necessary to leave home and relatives; and casting about for some way of doing this without attracting attention, he decided that a journey to Navarrete, where the Duke of Nájera was then living, was the best idea: he would visit that illustrious person to acknowledge his visits to him while he was convalescing in Loyola. Martin Garcia had no difficulty in guessing the meaning of this journey of his younger brother, and it was with sorrow of heart that he bade him farewell.

Two purposes were fixed in Ignatius' mind as he left Loyola—to do penance for his sins, and to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. This done, the will of God would make itself known, and point out to him how he must spend the rest of his life.

Mounted on a mule, and followed by two of the family servants, Ignatius began his journey. One of his brothers accompanied him to Oñate. He first of all went to the sanctuary of Our Lady of Aránzazu and then straight on to Navarrete. He visited the Duke, and thanked him for the interest he had shown towards him when he was ill. He drew from the treasury some ducats owed to him, with which he paid some debts; what was over he gave for the restoration of a statue of Our Lady, which he had found in a dilapidated condition. Having thus fulfilled all duties of courtesy and friendship, he dismissed the two servants who had accompanied him from Loyola, and then, alone, mounted on his mule, he started for the celebrated sanctuary of Montserrat in Catalonia.

On his way, joy in his heart and full of courage, he

thought of the penances he must undertake. But now he was less moved by the idea of reparation than by a noble desire to be found acceptable by God, and to imitate in his own life all that he had read of the Saints doing for the service of the Divine Majesty. Ever since he had left Loyola, he had begun to beat himself daily with a rope; and now, just before reaching the end of his journey, he made a vow of perpetual chastity, offering it to God through the hands of the most holy Virgin.

Arrived at Montserrat, he made a general confession of his whole life to a prudent French Benedictine, Fr. Juan de Chanones. He took three days over this confession, which for the sake of greater exactness he wrote out. He then disclosed to his confessor his determination to take up a new life, gave the mule on which he had come as a gift to the monastery, and had his sword and dagger hung up at Our Lady's altar. He then prepared to show himself to the world such as he desired to be for the future—a man crucified to all the pleasures and delights of this earth.

It was the vigil of the Annunciation, March 24, 1522. He waited till it grew dark, and then called a ragged beggar, stripped himself of the rich garments he wore —even of his shirt—and gave them all to him, clothing himself with a dress of the poorest, which he had just bought. It consisted of a long tunic or sack of rough, coarse hemp, a piece of rope to go round his waist, a shoe, or, as Ribadeneira says, a sort of hempen shoe for the right foot (he had still to have the wounded leg bandaged, since the wound was easily inflamed), and finally a pilgrim's staff with its gourd. As he had read in books of chivalry that new knights used to make a

vigil of arms, he determined to do the same with the arms of his new warfare ; and going to the altar of the most Blessed Mary, he passed the whole night in prayer, now standing, now kneeling, making the generous offering of himself for the divine service and imploring the help of the Queen of Heaven. With this public act Ignatius began his life of holiness.

CHAPTER II

ST. IGNATIUS AT MANRESA (1522-1523)

AT daybreak on the Feast of the Annunciation, March 25, 1522, Ignatius, now clothed as a pilgrim and an armed knight of Christ, heard Mass and received Holy Communion with great devotion at Montserrat. Having made his thanksgiving, he left the monastery and turned his steps towards the neighbouring town of Manresa. He had not gone a league when he heard someone, who was following him at full speed, calling after him. He waited ; and the messenger asked him with keen interest if it was true that he had given a set of rich garments to such and such a beggar, whom the authorities, in the belief that he had stolen them, had put into prison. 'Yes,' replied Ignatius ; and at the thought of this innocent man's misfortune, of which he had been the occasion, he could not restrain his tears. This aroused the curiosity of the messenger, who proceeded to ask the pilgrim who he was, whence he came, and what was his name. Ignatius gave him no answer, as he saw that this was not necessary in order to procure the release of the beggar, and, sending off the inquisitive fellow, he continued his journey to Manresa.

He was received as a poor man in the hospital of St. Lucy. This was his usual abode in the town. On one occasion, the Dominicans had him with them for

a little time; on another, while he was ill, a pious family took him in as a guest in their own house.

Every day he went from the hospital to the famous grotto, to-day so much venerated by the faithful but then visited by nobody. In this secluded hiding-place Ignatius concealed his long prayers and the bloody flagellations with which he mortified his body.

The life he led at Manresa was one of appalling austerity. He prayed seven hours, on his knees, every day. Thrice daily he disciplined himself without pity. His food was what he received in alms: if they gave him meat or wine, as did at times certain good folk who soon began to see his worth, he would not taste it, but gave it to others, poor like himself; only on Sundays and feast days did he take a little wine. Once a week he confessed and received Holy Communion; he assisted daily at the holy sacrifice of the Mass, during which he used to read the Passion of Christ. While attending sung Vespers, although he did not understand the psalms, he began to experience that tender devotion which he always afterwards found in the recitation of the Divine Office. His dress has been described above. Formerly he had been over nice in the care of his hair and the elegance of his attire: now, to punish himself for this vanity, he always went with his head bare, and let his hair, beard, and nails grow uncut.

Such was the life of Ignatius at Manresa. The people were quick to recognize the spirit that animated this unusual kind of beggar. The story of the gift of his rich clothes to a poor man spread rapidly among them. Rumour had it that the man of the long tunic was a distinguished knight; his reputation grew,

as is usual with what is unknown ; they exaggerated beyond all bounds his great valour, the nobility of his family, and the wonderful gifts hidden beneath that rough exterior. Various people of distinction began to talk with him—especially an Inés Pascual, a widow of means, whose home was in Barcelona, but who (with her son Juan Pascual, a boy of 16) used to pass a good deal of time at Manresa, as she had some property there. Mother and son became extraordinarily attached to St. Ignatius, and in the sequel gave him proof of the most delicate friendship. This feeling was shared by Brianda Paguera, Angela Amigant, Micaela Canielles, Ruidora or Redaura, and other ladies of position. They received with veneration the good counsels of Ignatius, and without waiting for him to knock at their doors, they sent him their alms to the hospital of St. Lucy.

The first four months passed very tranquilly. He suffered only some manifest temptations, which he very easily overcame. But suddenly he began to experience strange disturbances of soul. While praying with great fervour, without any warning his heart would dry up, and he would be overwhelmed with weariness and bitterness of soul. He kept on nevertheless with his prayer, and after a time, longer or shorter as the case might be, he felt again the onrush of that torrent of sweetness and devotion which had at first encompassed him. These remarkable alternations of joy and sadness, this going and coming of the relish of spiritual things, filled him with confusion and a certain fear as to the way of life which he had taken up.

But this was only the prelude of the battle. The most terrible thing was that doubts and scruples about

his general confession began to arise within him. He had indeed made it with extreme care, but nevertheless, disturbed by the imaginations suggested by the devil, he began to quibble on certain points : perhaps he had omitted such a sin, perhaps he had left out such a circumstance, or twisted that fact ; and these disturbing thoughts left his soul a prey to desolation.

Looking for some respite in the midst of such anguish of mind, he consulted various confessors, and at last placed himself in the hands of a learned Dominican Father, preacher-in-ordinary of the Seo.[1] The latter, to understand better the conscience of his penitent, ordered him to write down what passed in his soul. Ignatius obeyed, and presented the manuscript to his confessor, who examined it, and then commanded the pilgrim not to repeat the confession of his sins unless he was absolutely certain that he had omitted any of them. Ignatius at once regained his peace of soul. But soon the devil returned to the charge, making him believe that after all, and in effect, he was certain he had not made a good confession.

He was then living in the Dominican monastery. The religious, doubtless at the suggestion of his confessor, and moved to pity by his poverty and the trials he was enduring, had taken him in, and were caring for him with great charity. He passed long hours in the cell assigned to him, imploring with tears the help of the divine mercy. The devil determined to settle the matter with a decisive stroke. In the floor of the cell, there was a large hole which reached down to the very bowels of the earth : it was covered with a trap-door. He suggested to him that, since he had no

[1] The principal church in Manresa.—Tr.

joy of this world, he should finish with it once and for all, by casting himself down this pit. Ignatius, despite the horrors of the torments he was then enduring, controlled himself in the face of such a diabolical suggestion, and resisted the temptation.

It then occurred to him, as a final remedy for all his troubles, to get his confessor to order him to forget everything about his sins; but he was suspicious of this, precisely because it came from himself. He then remembered having read how a certain Saint, in order to win a favour of our Lord, had continued fasting till he had obtained it. He made up his mind to follow this example, and one Sunday, after Holy Communion, he proceeded to the chapel of Our Lady of Villadordis, about half a league from Manresa, whither he often went to pray. He there began to spend the week in severe abstinence and continual prayer, begging light and mercy from heaven.

After some days, the pious ladies who were under his direction and helped him with their alms, noticed his absence from the town. They went out in various directions in search of him, and at last discovered him in the chapel of Villadordis. He had become a mere shadow of himself, and was so exhausted that he could scarcely walk or even stand. Full of pity, the good ladies found some men to carry the penitent to Manresa. Despite this, he would continue his fast. The following Sunday, his confessor, to whom he mentioned the penance he had undertaken, ordered him with every appearance of severity, even threatening not to absolve him, to interrupt his prolonged fast. Ignatius obeyed, and passed the Sunday and the Monday following in great peace. On Tuesday his anxious

scruples returned. But then the Saint, remembering not so much his sins as the dreadful torture which he experienced at the recollection of them, saw clearly that the whole thing was a snare which the devil had spread for him, to lead him to despair and make him retrace his steps. And like a man who rouses himself from a deep sleep, Ignatius knew that his eyes were now opening to the light, and once he had detected the wiles of the enemy, his soul enjoyed a marvellous peace and tranquillity.

After this ordeal, which had lasted two or three months, God abundantly rewarded the fidelity of his servant. He gave him an extraordinary gift of prayer, so that, oblivious of the passage of time, he passed hours, and even whole nights, immersed in the sweetness of contemplation. He had various apparitions of Christ and Our Lady, and received from God ineffable light on the mystery of the Blessed Trinity. We must make mention of two of these special supernatural favours, as they were without any doubt the most wonderful in themselves, and had in their effect a decided influence on the future direction of St. Ignatius' life.

One day, having come out of a certain church on the outskirts of Manresa, he sat down on the bank of the river Cardoner, and in a meditative mood fixed his eyes on the water. While thus absorbed, his mind was suddenly illuminated by a strange light. He himself used to say in after-time, that the world and all things seemed different from what they had been before. No particular object was present to him, but he received so deep a knowledge of the divine mysteries, and of the science of the soul, that all that he afterwards learned by study, and by divine revelation, could not be com-

pared with the knowledge which God gave him in one instant of such illumination. He remained absorbed and out of himself for a very long time; when he came to himself again, he cast himself on his knees before a cross which stood near, and gave thanks to our Lord for so extraordinary a favour. It was on this occasion that God first inspired him with the idea of founding the Society of Jesus.

The second divine favour we wish to record here, was the famous trance of eight days, which occurred in the hospital of St. Lucy. From the afternoon of one Saturday to that of the following Saturday, Ignatius was so lost to all sensation that some people thought he was already dead. The youth Juan Pascual saw him, and ran to tell his mother. The prudent lady judged it to be a natural swoon, the result of the extraordinary abstinence of the penitent. She at once got ready a cup of broth and carried it to the sick man, but could not make him take it. Several notables of Manresa were standing near. The doctors examined him, and found that his heart was beating gently and regularly, although in every other respect he seemed dead. All were convinced that here was a phenomenon outside the natural order of things, and not known in the field of medicine. The pilgrim remained in this state for the whole of the week, till the afternoon of the Saturday, when he opened his eyes and came to himself, pronouncing sweetly the name of Jesus. Polanco tells us that Ignatius spoke of this trance with no one, and adds that it was easy to get him to talk of the sins of his past life, and of external affairs, but not of his rare interior gifts, however eager one might be to find them out.

At Manresa, therefore, our Saint, tried by strong and varied temptations, and enlightened by supernatural favours, was already able, even if his mind was not well nurtured by study, to write the book of the *Spiritual Exercises*. It is true that at Loyola he had already commenced to jot down some notes on the discernment of spirits. It is also true that afterwards he completed the book with certain complementary portions which suppose a knowledge of Latin, and the study of theology ; but still there is no doubt that the nucleus of the principal meditations, the very marrow of the *Exercises*, was written in the last months of his stay at Manresa.[1]

The pilgrim was not without suffering, even while God was favouring him with such extraordinary graces. At the end of 1522, at the severest period of the winter, he became seriously ill, no doubt through his excessive penance. The better to cure him, his devoted friends carried him to the house of Señor Andrés Amigant, where some good souls tended him day and night with the greatest charity. Scarcely had he recovered than he returned to his penances : he fell ill a second, and a third time. God wished to teach him, observes Polanco, that one should have a proper care of one's health ; and Ignatius himself used to say that in this, as in other things, ' Erring, I learned not to err.'

Convinced doubtless by experience of his ill-health, he yielded to the prayers of his friends, who pressed him to accept some clothing of a more substantial nature, which would protect him better against the

[1] Cf. *Historia de la Compañia de Jesús en la Asistencia de España*, t. I. p. 148.

inclemency of the seasons. Señor Canielles, a worthy manufacturer of wool, took on himself to bear the cost, which was not great. Ignatius accepted two short cloaks of very coarse grey cloth, and another piece of the same material, which just covered half his head. He began then, also, to cut his hair and his nails, in order, without doubt, to make himself more approachable to those with whom he dealt. Ever since the celebrated vision on the banks of the Cardoner, he began to mix more freely with others, and to feel in his soul a lively desire to work for the saving of souls. It was the spirit of the future Society of Jesus taking shape in the mind of its holy founder.

Such was the life of Ignatius at Manresa from March 1522 to February 1523.

CHAPTER III

PILGRIMAGE TO THE HOLY LAND (1523-1524)

ON leaving Loyola, Ignatius had resolved to do penance for his sins for a year, and then make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The time to put this latter resolution into effect was drawing near when, in the February of 1523, he visited the sanctuary of Montserrat. By chance he there met a priest, with a boy who followed him as a servant. The former's name was Juan Pujol, a priest of Prats; the boy, named Gabriel Perpiñá, has given us an account of this meeting.

Entering into conversation, Pujol told Ignatius that he was going to Rome, whither the monastery of Montserrat was sending him on business. Ignatius asked him if he had any objection to taking him as a travelling companion, because he too desired to go to Rome. Pujol had no objection, and they separated with the intention of setting out soon on their journey.

Ignatius returned to Manresa, and prepared for departure. He said good-bye to his friends and benefactors, who wept to see him leaving them, so extraordinary was the veneration and affection he had aroused in all. Some even wished to accompany him, but he courteously declined their offers, and left the city by himself. He soon joined Pujol and Perpiñá, and with them set out for Barcelona.

Ignatius left Manresa rather better clad, although his clothes were still extremely poor. He wore a modest jerkin and a pair of wide breeches made of rough stuff. Over the jerkin he wore one of those garments of grey cloth which had been given him: the top of his head was covered with a piece of the same material. For hose he had accepted a pair of rough boots. He wore no stockings, and his legs from his boots to the height of his trousers were bare.

Despite this great poverty in his dress (note this large spirit), he was abundantly provided with paper and with all necessaries for writing, because he was always most careful to write down whatever might be useful for his spiritual life. Without doubt he carried with him the book of 300 leaves which he had had bound up at Loyola, and in which by now the *Spiritual Exercises* had been written. As we shall see, it was impounded some years later for a very leisurely examination at Salamanca.

Just as Ignatius at Manresa gave us an example of extraordinary and really excessive penance, so in his pilgrimage to the Holy Land he will display a confidence in God which was boundless, and which at times was pushed to extremes far from prudent. He was carried on by an incredible fervour and his inexperience in the spiritual life.

Arrived at Barcelona, he had to wait three weeks for a chance of embarking. He then made the acquaintance of a pious lady, Isabel Rosell, who afterwards was a notable benefactor of his, but also caused him some trouble. When he found a vessel bound for Italy, Ignatius presented himself to the captain, and asked him to take him on board for the love of God.

The captain promised, on the one condition, however, that he should provide himself with sufficient sea-biscuits for the voyage.

Our Saint was a little upset, because he thought that to embark in the ship with provisions would be a sign of a want of confidence in God. Not knowing how to settle his mind, he went to a confessor, explained the case to him, and asked him what he ought to do to act most perfectly and according to the will of God. The confessor told him definitely to procure the quantity of sea-biscuits the captain had indicated. He obeyed.

Isabel Rosell gave him a large alms: he begged more from door to door, and with all this he bought what was necessary for his sustenance. Some small change remained over: what was he to do with it? To carry money appeared to him scarcely worthy in one who placed all his confidence in God. He put down the handful of money on a bench, and then, with his purse absolutely empty, went on board. Juan Pujol and the youth Perpiñá embarked with him.

The crossing was quite calm, and rapid for those times: they reached Gaeta in five days. On landing, they found themselves in a serious plight. An epidemic was devastating central Italy, and the towns had agreed not to permit any stranger to enter, in order to preserve themselves as much as possible from contagion. This was a most embarrassing situation for Ignatius, who had to support himself on alms; but he joined three others who were begging, and began the journey to Rome.

Once, on the way, in a little chapel near a village, he swooned out of sheer weakness; but Providence

was watching over him. The *Señora del pueblo*,[1] hearing of the incident, permitted him to enter the village, and beg for alms. With what he could collect, and with the help which Juan Pujol sent him, he was able to recover his strength, and reached Rome on Palm Sunday, March 29, 1523.

He assisted devoutly at the offices of Holy Week and Easter, and at one of the functions had the consolation, with others of the faithful, of receiving the blessing of the Pope, Adrian VI.

At the same time, he was consulting different people on his voyage to Venice and then to Jerusalem. All urged the difficulty of the undertaking : two months ago the Turks had taken Rhodes, and this event had spread consternation throughout the whole of Christendom. Moreover, all insisted that he must go provided with money.

Convinced by such unanimous advice, he collected seven or eight ducats by begging, and with this sum he left Rome, April 13. But soon the thought came to him, that to go provided in this manner was a sign of a lack of confidence in God, and he was tempted to do with the ducats as he had done with the small change at Barcelona. But on second thoughts, he decided that it would be more perfect to distribute them to the poor. And behold ! he gave the money in alms on his way, so that he reached Venice absolutely penniless.

Entering the city of lagoons, he begged as usual for alms from door to door, and then passed the night stretched upon a table in the piazza of St. Mark. In

[1] There is no word or phrase in English to translate this title : perhaps ' lady of the manor ' best conveys the idea expressed by it. —Tr.

Venice also, Divine Providence soon let him experience its protection. A few days had passed when he came across a rich Spaniard—a Basque, according to Laínez. They entered into conversation, and the Spaniard asked our pilgrim whence he came, and whither he was going. Ignatius told him, quite simply, that he was making a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He was astonished, and began to dissuade him from such a project. Had he not heard of the capture of Rhodes, and of the rapid advance of the Mussulman armies? Practically all pilgrims to the Holy Land were returning home, deciding not to embark lest they should be taken prisoners. Ignatius listened to all these reasons; then, with an air of supernatural strength, uttered those famous words which Fr. Laínez has handed down to us: 'I have such confidence in God, our Saviour, that, if this year only one ship or plank of wood were to cross to Jerusalem, I would go with it.' The Spaniard was impressed with the vigorous confidence and sanctity which shone forth in this poor pilgrim, and without more ado took him by the arm and led him to his inn. He kept Ignatius with him there all the time he had to wait for a vessel to sail for the East. He did him also another favour, procuring for him an interview with the Doge of Venice, Andrea Gritti. This latter treated the Saint with gentlemanly affability. Ignatius, speaking Spanish, as he knew no Italian, told him of his desire to go as a pilgrim to Jerusalem, and begged him to use his authority to have him received for the love of God in any of the ships weighing anchor for Palestine. The Duke acceded to this request, and further ordered that Ignatius should be taken on board the vessel in which the Governor of Cyprus was to travel.

This year, 1523, many pilgrims had come to Venice, but the Turkish scare had made most of them return home. Only twenty-two remained, ready to brave all dangers. Of these, thirteen embarked on a vessel which was called *The Pilgrim*, because every year, in the summer, it used to carry pilgrims to the Holy Land: the other nine, among whom was Ignatius, were taken on board the vessel of the Governor of Cyprus. They set sail on July 14. Scarcely had the voyage begun than the Saint discovered that abominable sins were being committed on board. At once, with Christian zeal and courageous independence, he began to rebuke the culprits. The other pilgrims trembled for him, and advised him to think well on what he was doing, for these galley-slaves would be quite capable of leaving him on some desert island. And it seems that they did plan such a crime; but when they discovered a place suitable for their purpose, so strong a wind arose that they were obliged to change their direction, and were carried rapidly to Cyprus. The Governor's ship was to stop there. The pilgrims landed, and went on foot to another port farther on, where *The Pilgrim* was awaiting them. There was no noteworthy incident in the voyage from Cyprus to Jaffa. They disembarked at this town and, mounted modestly on mules, finished their painful journey. And so, after six months of troubles without number, St. Ignatius entered Jerusalem on September 4, 1523.

His visit to the Holy Places brought him extraordinary devotion and consolation. He meditated long at every spot sanctified by our Saviour's presence. Doubtless he was consoled by heavenly visitations, and it was then that his spirit drank in that tender love of

Jesus Christ which later manifested itself in every act of his life. He spent actually about a month and a half in the Holy Land, but would have liked to remain there all his life, and dedicate himself to the conversion of the infidels. But the designs of God were very different.

Speaking one day with the Father Guardian of St. Francis, he told him of his intention of remaining there for life. The Father Guardian pointed out various difficulties, and finally referred him to the Father Provincial, who was at the moment at Bethlehem, but would not be long in coming. He arrived, in fact, in Jerusalem at the end of October, when the pilgrims were preparing for their return to the West.

He called Ignatius, and in set terms pointed out to him that he would have to leave the next day with the rest. Ignatius told him that a great devotion and a boundless confidence in God gave him courage to remain there for the remainder of his life; but the Father Provincial, though praising his holy desire, stood firm in his order, and added that he had power from the Holy Father to oblige pilgrims to return to their own country, even under pain of ecclesiastical censure. He wished to show him the Papal Bulls, but Ignatius stopped him, saying that it was not necessary, as His Reverence's word was enough for him. He set about, therefore, getting ready his poor belongings, and the next day left Jerusalem with the other pilgrims. They reached Cyprus without difficulty, where they were to embark for Italy.

There were three vessels in port on the point of leaving: a Turkish vessel, in which no pilgrim would sail, another magnificent Venetian ship, and a poor,

wretched craft whose nationality we do not know. Some friends asked the Venetian captain to receive Ignatius out of charity, and praised him as a Saint. The captain replied sarcastically: 'If he is a Saint, he should have no need of ships: let him walk on the waters, and he will not sink.' After this refusal, the pilgrims betook themselves to the captain of the small ship, who received Ignatius without any difficulty.

The three ships weighed anchor on the same day and in perfect weather; but on that same evening a violent storm came on, which threatened all with destruction. The Turkish ship went to the bottom with all hands, the Venetian stranded on a reef on the coast of Cyprus, and perished miserably, although the sailors reached land, while the small vessel which carried the Saint, rode the storm unharmed, and continued its voyage to Italy—so slowly, indeed, that it took two months, November and December of 1523, to reach its first port in Apulia. There the little ship stayed, and Ignatius had to transship to another vessel which took him to Venice, where he arrived about the middle of January, 1524.

He had to go from Venice to Genoa on foot—a difficult and perilous undertaking under the circumstances. The whole of the North of Italy was in the throes of a fierce war between Spain and France, which was to be decided a year later by the famous battle of Pavia. Ignatius, continuing his journey, fell in with a patrol of Spaniards. The soldiers captured him, and taking him for a spy, rigorously searched him, stole his small short cloak, and took him in jerkin and breeches before the officer in command. The latter put him various questions, to which Ignatius

replied in a few dry phrases. He took him to be a poor fool, and sharply rebuking the soldiers for having disturbed him by bringing before him such a miserable madman, ordered him to be removed. The soldiers, annoyed with their officer's rebuke, vented their ill-humour on the poor pilgrim, beating him with staves and jostling him roughly. Ignatius, with humble resignation, remained silent, thus observing to the letter the future eleventh rule of the Society of Jesus.

Proceeding farther, he fell into the hands of the advance-guard of the French, who naturally arrested him, and brought him before their captain. The latter asked him whence he came. Ignatius replied that he was born in Guipúzcoa. 'I also come from those parts,' exclaimed the captain in astonishment. He was, indeed, a Basque-Frenchman, and very probably they conversed in Basque. The result of this unexpected meeting was that the captain offered our pilgrim supper, and parted from him with much good-will.

Ignatius, thus well treated by one from whom he could not have expected it, pushed on and arrived at Genoa. Here he met Rodrigo Portuondo, a noble fellow-countryman whom he had known some years before at the court of Ferdinand and Isabella, and who now made satisfactory arrangements for his passage to Spain. Ignatius landed at Barcelona about the middle of Lent 1524: his pilgrimage to the Holy Land had taken just a year.

CHAPTER IV

STUDIES AT BARCELONA, ALCALÁ, AND SALAMANCA (1524-1528)

EVER since leaving Jerusalem for Spain, Ignatius had been continuously meditating how his love of God was to find expression in his employment of what remained to him of life. The idea of grouping round himself men of apostolic spirit to work for the salvation of souls, had remained fixed in his mind since his sojourn at Manresa ; but he soon reached the conclusion that, for an undertaking of the sort, he needed the help of the sacred sciences : to go on without such help would be to journey blindfold, or to expect miracles which are not a part of the ordinary course of Divine Providence.

So he made up his mind to study, presented himself before a certain Master Ardebalo, a professor of Latin, and told him his plans. He then went to Isabel Rosell and told her the same. Both approved his designs : the master offered to teach him grammar for nothing, and the good lady to support him with her alms. With no less generosity, Iñés Pascual offered her help. At Barcelona she continued to be a devoted friend, as she had been at Manresa. Encouraged by such assistance, he commenced his student's career, which lasted for eleven years.

In the Lent of 1524, at the age of thirty-three,

Ignatius began to attend the lectures of Ardebalo. He was striving to master the minutiae of grammar, in themselves sufficiently distasteful to him, when he found his difficulties increased by a subtle and novel temptation. When he began to study, such a torrent of spiritual thoughts and devotion, such interior joy and sweetness rushed into his soul, that further progress was impossible. But Ignatius soon discovered the snare of the devil, and set himself to destroy the temptation with an energetic and decisive remedy. Father Ribadeneira, to whom the Saint himself related it, tells us his plan. ' One day he came to the master, and asked him to be good enough to go with him to the Church of St. Mary of the Sea, which was not far from his house, because he had something to tell him. There he gave him a minute account of his interior experiences with regard to his studies, and of the devil's temptation. He added that, in order to demolish completely the whole fabric of the devil's machinations, he gave him his word, and promised never for two years to miss his class, provided that he had enough bread and water for the day. He asked him, therefore, earnestly, and on his knees, to take him under his particular care, to treat him like the smallest of his pupils, to punish and beat him vigorously every time that he found him distracted or lacking in diligence.' This sublime example of humility and abnegation shattered in an instant the designs of the devil.

At this period, also, the Saint was involved in an incident of a different kind, and serious enough, as it endangered his very life. Ignatius advised some nuns that they ought not to receive in their parlour certain youths whose reputation was not of the best, and who

were frequent visitors. They accepted his advice, and closed the parlour doors to the noisy youths. The latter were furious, and having discovered the cause of this change of attitude, they hired two strong brutal Moors to secure their revenge. These men waited one day for Ignatius on the outskirts of the town, suddenly threw themselves on him, beat him mercilessly, and left him lying on the road for dead. A miller, passing by, had compassion on him, lifted him up, put him on his mule, and carried him to the house of Iñés Pascual. There he had to remain in bed for fifty-three days to recover from the dreadful beating.

He persevered with his study of grammar at Barcelona for two years. At length, Master Ardebalo, considering him sufficiently advanced in his Latin studies, advised him to go on to the University of Alcalá to learn philosophy. Ignatius, following this advice, got ready for the journey, and moved to Alcalá in the spring of 1526.

At Barcelona, three companions had joined him with the idea of imitating his mode of life. They were : Calixto de Sa, Juan de Arteaga, and Lope de Cáceres. They all followed him to the Complutensian University, where a French boy, aged fifteen, soon joined them—Juan de Reinalde, whom they called Juanico because of his youth. Ignatius and his companions dressed in a poor sackcloth—whence they got the nickname of 'The men of sackcloth.'

The Saint found lodging in the poor hospital of Antezana, and began to study, as Father Cámara informs us, 'the "terms" of Soto, the physics of Albertus, and the Master of the Sentences,' i.e. dialectics, physics (then considered part of philosophy), and

theology, which was studied in the text of Peter Lombard, the Master of the Sentences. It was certainly too much of an armful at once, with the result that in none of these studies did his knowledge reach a fair standard.

Even more than a lack of method, external persecution, which he had to endure in Alcalá, hindered him from profiting by his studies. He and his companions used to treat of spiritual things with those about them, and did what they could in this way to procure some good in their souls. They obtained some conversions and notable changes of life, which attracted the eager attention of the people. Some praised the five men of sackcloth as saints; others, on the contrary, kept well clear of them: and as at that time so many heresies and novelties were springing up on every side, the name of Ignatius as a hidden and dangerous sectary was delated to the Sacred Tribunal of the Inquisition.

The Inquisitors of Toledo entrusted the task of examining this affair to the licentiate Alonso de Mejía and Doctor Carrasco. On November 19, 1526, they opened a judicial process of information on the life and behaviour of Ignatius and his companions. As they could discover no offence to lay to the charge of the five, they suspended the process, and contented themselves with ordering the Vicar of Alcalá, Juan de Figueroa, to keep an eye on the movements of these men. Figueroa fulfilled his task, and pushed his vigilance at times to the point of impertinence.

After three months, suspicions were again aroused, and on March 6, 1527, Figueroa opened a new process on Ignatius' doctrine. Certain ladies, who had received advice from him, were interrogated, and from their replies it clearly resulted that the teaching of the Saint

could be reduced to the elements of Christian morality and of the spiritual life. Figueroa's mind was thus put at rest, and he left the Saint in peace.

After a month, another and more fierce storm arose. Among the persons who derived spiritual profit from the counsel of Ignatius were two ladies, Maria del Vado, a widow, and her daughter, Luisa de Velázquez, both quite well known in Alcalá. Under the influence of an indiscreet desire to suffer for Christ, they determined to make a pilgrimage on foot to St. Veronica of Jaén. Ignatius, when asked about the project, energetically dissuaded them from it. But despite this, leaving their house secretly one night, they began their pilgrimage. Word of this was spread about the town, and great murmurings against the Saint arose, because all believed that it was he who had approved such an act of imprudence. At the same time, stories were told of various ladies, directed by Ignatius, who were the prey of sadness, fainting-fits, and strange agitations. What could it mean? Popular credulity saw devils and hobgoblins everywhere, and was not indisposed to think that this man was possessed by the devil.

Alarmed by these rumours, Figueroa arrested Ignatius, and instituted a process against him. Everybody who was accustomed to treat with the Saint was minutely questioned, and before the process was finished, Maria del Vado, with her daughter, returned from Jaén. They too were cited before the judge, and from their replies the absolute innocence of Ignatius and his companions became clear. After forty-two days' imprisonment, on July 1, 1527, he was called before the Vicar, who, without in any way animadvert-

ing on his character or doctrine, imposed two orders on him; the first was that he and his companions should dress like the other students of Alcalá, the second was that, since they had not yet studied theology, they should refrain from teaching the people the truths of faith until they had acquired more learning. After this, he let them go, and even gave them something to help them to improve their dress.

Ignatius was very displeased with the second order, because it closed the door to his work for the salvation of souls. He therefore considered the question of changing his place of abode, but wished first to consult the Archbishop of Toledo, Alfonso de Fonseca, who was then at Valladolid. Towards the end of June he went to see him, and fully explained to him his position. The prudent prelate, in view of the many squalls which Ignatius' presence had aroused in Alcalá, advised him to make his way, together with his companions, to the University of Salamanca. To this good advice he added an aims of four scudi.

Ignatius, who for some time had had the same idea, took his advice, and together with his four companions entered the city of the Tormes in the July or August of 1527. But, even in Salamanca, he did not find the peace he desired. Ten or eleven days after his arrival, a Dominican, to whom he began to confess in the monastery of St. Stephen, asked him to dinner for the next Sunday. Ignatius went with Calixto, and both were well received by the religious. Dinner over, the sub-prior of the monastery, with the confessor and a third religious, called the two guests aside, and after some polite phrases as to their apostolic zeal, and the good example they were giving to all, asked Ignatius

what studies he had made. Without any difficulty the Saint admitted his deficiency in learning. The sub-prior then suggested that, as he had not studied theology and nevertheless was teaching the people the truths of faith, he must surely have received his knowledge by divine inspiration. Was it, perhaps, true that God had revealed to him what he was teaching? The Saint was astonished at such an unusual inquiry, and having thought for a moment, replied frankly that he would rather not answer the question.

The sub-prior then gave orders for the doors of the monastery to be locked, and kept Ignatius and Calixto as prisoners. They gave them a cell, where they remained for three days, taking their meals with the community in the refectory. They were continually visited by the religious, whose opinions with regard to the prisoners were divided: some praised their virtue, some thought they could see a hidden wickedness in them. Meanwhile, the sub-prior denounced them to the Vicar-General of the Bishop.

The Vicar-General, a severe type of man, had Ignatius and Calixto seized at once, and lodged them, not in the common prison, but in a room apart, which was old, in ruins, filthy, and full of noisome odours. There they fastened them with a heavy chain, twelve or thirteen palms long, tying their legs so closely together that they could not by any means separate one from another. 'And so they remained for the whole of that night,' says Polanco, 'in company with small, most disgusting animals, which did not let them sleep.' The next day the Vicar-General went to the prison, and examined them separately. He found on them the book of the *Exercises*, which he took off

with him to examine at his leisure. After several days he called Ignatius before a tribunal composed of the Doctors Santisidoro, Paravinhas, Frías, and the Bachelor Frías, all of whom had in the meantime examined the *Exercises*.

These judges put Ignatius some questions on the most abstruse points of theology, e.g. the Eucharist, and the Trinity, and also gave him a question on Canon Law. The humble prisoner, after first plainly stating that he had studied little, answered their questions with marvellous precision. They made him explain the first commandment, which he did with great ease and assurance. The judges marvelled, and recognizing something out of the common in this man, went no further with their questions ; but they fastened on that note in the *Exercises* which defines when one commits a venial sin in the matter of evil thoughts. How, they said, can a man who has not studied theology, dare to give instruction on such delicate questions ? The Saint, as if inspired, replied, ' What I teach is true, or it is false. If false, condemn it ; if true, permit it to stand.' The judges dared not condemn it.

After twenty-two days in prison, Ignatius and his companion were again called before their judges, and sentence was pronounced. It declared them to be men innocent of life, and orthodox in doctrine. However, they were ordered not to meddle with intricate questions by delivering opinions on the distinction between mortal and venial sin. When the verdict had been read, Ignatius was asked if he intended to obey. He said ' No ! ' ' One of the judges who was most favourably disposed towards him,' says Polanco,

'jumped to his feet, and asked him what he found in the verdict to displease him. Ignatius replied that, seeing they did not declare what he taught about mortal and venial sin to be false, they had no grounds for imposing on him silence on this point. And he added that he would rather leave Salamanca than conform to that verdict.' And he was as good as his word. Perceiving that on the banks of the Tormes any chance of doing good to his neighbour had vanished, he debated the idea of betaking himself to the University of Paris. He consulted his companions, and it was decided that they should stay at Salamanca until he had made suitable arrangements for himself and them in the French capital. Thereupon he made preparations for an immediate departure.

He loaded an ass with his books and manuscripts, and some twenty days after his release from prison, set out for Barcelona. There he made known to his friends his determination to continue his journey to Paris. They attempted to dissuade him, putting before him the perils of the journey, on account of the war then raging between Spain and France. But Ignatius, who knew no fear, remained firm in his purpose. So, seeing that his mind was made up, they gave him abundant alms—Isabel Rosell in particular, and Iñés Pascual; and, placing all his confidence in God, Ignatius harnessed his ass and took the road for France. He reached Paris on February 2, 1528.

CHAPTER V

STUDIES AT PARIS (1528-1535)

ON his arrival in Paris his first difficulty, as he had expected, was how to provide for himself. His whole capital consisted of the ass which carried his books and note-books, and a bill for twenty-five scudi, which Isabel Rosell had given him in Barcelona. He cashed this, and handed over the money to a fellow-countryman who was staying at the same inn. This fellow soon spent the whole of the money, and was not in a position to repay it. This disaster reduced the Saint to extremities, and towards the end of Lent, 1528, he had to have recourse to the means of gaining a livelihood adopted by poor students, viz. to ask free lodging in some hospital, and to beg from door to door what was necessary for his daily sustenance. This is how Father Ribadeneira describes these material difficulties of St. Ignatius in Paris : ' He was obliged to beg from door to door for all his food. This was no novelty for him, and indeed brought him joy and comfort ; but it greatly interfered with his studies, especially as the hospital where he lived was rather a long way from the schools. At Paris, in those days, lectures began, in winter, before daybreak, and those in the afternoon lasted till nightfall. In order not to interfere with the time-table and the regulations of the hospital, he was obliged to go

out at sunrise, and to return in the early evening at sunset : he thus lost a good part of the lectures.

'Noticing, therefore, that he was not getting on in his studies as he desired, and that, with all his efforts, he was reaping little fruit, it occurred to him that he should put himself at the service of some master. He wanted at that time to study philosophy, and so preferred that his master should be a learned man and a professor of that subject, so that he could give up to philosophy all the time left over from his domestic duties.

'But for all his trouble, and for all the aid he received from those enlisted by him in the search, he never succeeded in finding such a master. So, following the advice of a religious, a friend of his, and after commending the affair to God, he tried another means, and this time with better success.

'There were rich Spanish merchants in those days doing business in the cities of Bruges and Antwerp. So he went every year from Paris to Flanders, and collected from them alms enough to support him on a meagre scale for a year. And thus, on his return to Paris, he had, with little loss of time and with only a few days' labour, made certain of the hours he needed for study. He employed this method of securing a scanty livelihood for the first two years. In the third year, however, he crossed to England in order to collect alms in London : they were given him in abundance. After these first three years, the merchants in Flanders, recognizing the virtue and piety of the Saint, began to send their alms direct to him at Paris every year, and so he was not obliged to lose even the time necessary for the journey there and back.

From Spain, also, his benefactors sent him some help; with this and with what he received from Flanders, he was able to live more easily, and even to support a companion.'

It was in the midst of such a lack of resources that Ignatius pursued his studies in Paris. The method he followed is worthy of remark. When he reached Paris he had studied for four years, and was thirty-seven years old. What plan should he adopt? He was sufficiently versed in grammar: would it not be best for him to prepare himself with a rapid course of moral theology, receive sacred orders, and then devote himself body and soul to the salvation of his neighbour, according to his desire? No. He never believed in doing things by halves, and in a hurry. Everything he did, he had to do well. So now, when he puts himself to study, he will do so with due method and proportion. Having wasted a great deal of time in Alcalá, through wanting to learn many things at once, now, instead of pushing on with his course, he took a step backwards and, as it were, made a fresh beginning. For a year and a half, from February 1528 to the summer of 1529, he diligently repeated grammar and humanities, as a pupil at the Collège Montaigu. On October 1, 1529 (the day on which lectures at the University of Paris used to begin), he commenced his philosophy, attending the classes of the worthy Spaniard, Doctor Juan de la Peña.

He continued slowly, but carefully, with his study of philosophy and the auxiliary sciences, for a space of three years and a half. Then, at the advice of his master, he took the examination which was there called 'of the Rock,' one of the stiffest in the university.

He passed successfully, and obtained the degree of Master of Arts in the Lent of 1533.

In the October of the same year, he began his theology; but he had to discontinue it before the end of his second year, on account of continual pains in the stomach, which tormented him to such a degree that he was compelled to return to Spain in the April of 1535. He attempted to resume his studies on two occasions, but at long intervals of time: once, a year later, at Bologna; and afterwards, at Venice, while awaiting his companions who were to join him there. But these snatches of study can have borne little fruit. The scholastic life of Ignatius may be said to have been finished when he left Paris for Guipúzcoa. His studies, therefore, lasted eleven years—March 1524 to April 1535.

And what had he learnt for all his trouble? Fr. Laínez, speaking of Ignatius' studies, justly estimates their value to the Saint in these words: 'As to study, although Ignatius met more difficulties than others, yet with his great diligence, he reaped fruit, *ceteris paribus*, equal to or greater than that of his fellow-students: he reached an ordinary average in letters, as he showed in his replies in public discussion and in private conversations with his fellow-pupils.' St. Ignatius, therefore, gained a fair modicum of proficiency in letters: this was the limit of his progress. What he did gain, however, in his student days, was a practical knowledge of scholastic organization. It was providential that, for seven years, he should have been at the most celebrated university of the world; this gave him an insight into the life of the students, together with personal experience of the methods of

teaching, and a grasp of the principles of administration of teaching centres. What is most striking in the studies of Ignatius is, without doubt, the unbreakable determination with which he undertook them and carried them to their conclusion. Already advanced in years, living on alms, harassed by illness, obliged by persecution to change his abode, meeting everywhere with denunciations, processes, beatings, prison and fetters, he continued calmly with his studies for eleven years, and this not because he experienced any relish in them, but simply because the glory of God required it. Sublime heroism indeed, which witnesses to a will in St. Ignatius as resolute and persevering as any of which history has record.

CHAPTER VI

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS TO THE VOW AT MONTMARTRE (1524-1534)

FROM the very beginning of his studies at Barcelona, Ignatius directed his attention to the winning of companions, in order to realize the idea of the Society of Jesus, with which God had inspired him at Manresa. At Barcelona, as we have noted, he found his first three companions, Calixto de Sa, Lope de Cáceres, both of Segovia, and Juan de Arteaga of Estepa. At Alcalá, there joined these Juán de Reinalde or Juanico, as Fr. Cámara called him. These four made good progress in the way of virtue under the direction of the Saint. Like him they were dressed in poor sackcloth, lived on alms, fostered piety in others by their holy conversation, and what did them even greater honour, shared with Christian resignation the imprisonments and persecutions which their master suffered.

But, despite such good beginnings, this society, like a premature birth (as Polanco puts it), did not live long. When Ignatius went to Paris, leaving his companions at Salamanca, their good resolutions grew weaker and weaker, and each eventually went his separate way. Calixto joined the merchant service, and made two voyages to the West Indies. Cáceres returned to Segovia, his native country, and his fate

is unknown. Arteaga took the road to ecclesiastical dignities. He obtained a bishopric in the Indies, but on his way to take possession of his diocese, he died in Mexico, October 8th, 1540. Juanico entered a religious order.

While this first group was splitting up in Salamanca, Ignatius was endeavouring to form another in Paris. In the summer of 1529 he gave the *Exercises* to three Spanish youths, distinguished both by birth and by excellent personal qualities. The first was Juán de Castro, the second Pedro de Peralta, and the third Amador. The three of them determined to embrace a life of evangelical perfection, distributed their goods to the poor, and retired to the hospital of St. James to live on alms. The wrath of relations, friends, and acquaintances at seeing such an extraordinary transformation was incredible. They called it a disgrace to their families : they said that Ignatius had bewitched them, and did everything in their power to dissuade them from their good resolutions. When words and reasons failed, they proceeded one day in an armed band to the hospital, carried off the students, and insisted on their living according to their station during the time of their studies. The three youths yielded to force, and what was worse, forgetting by degrees their good resolutions, they ended by completely abandoning their master. Thus for the second time the plans of Ignatius proved abortive : but he was soon to experience the loving providence of God.

In the same year, 1529, he first made the acquaintance of two privileged souls, who were destined to form a lasting association with him. As he was to begin his philosophy in October, he moved to the College of St.

Barbara. There he met two youths, aged twenty-three, already bound to one another by the ties of Christian friendship—Peter Faber, a Savoyard, and Francis Xavier from Navarre.

Peter Faber was born in 1506, of humble parents, at Villaret, a small village belonging to the French department of Haute Savoie. From his boyhood he had had a strong inclination to virtue, and at the age of twelve made a vow of perpetual chastity. After studying humanities in his native country, he went, in the year 1525, to the University of Paris, where he studied philosophy, and took his licentiate in that faculty on March 15, 1530.

When Faber was finishing this course, Ignatius was commencing it: and as he found many difficulties in it, he asked the advice of his Professor, Doctor Peña, as to how he should overcome them. The latter advised him to repeat the lectures heard in class with some more intelligent companion, e.g. with Peter Faber. He took his advice, and began to repeat with the youthful Savoyard.

The latter was not long in recognizing his superior worth. He was already advanced in years, and yet he came with such humility to make himself his pupil in philosophy. When he discovered his great experience in spiritual matters, he decided to tell him of a scruple of conscience which had tormented him for some years. He had made a vow of chastity, and the devil used to torment him with violent temptations to impurity. Thoughts of vanity, and anxiety of conscience, left him no peace, and great confusion reigned in his soul. He had not spoken to anyone of this internal struggle, and his sense of isolation had been the cause of dread-

ful anguish of mind and an overwhelming depression. He had even thought of giving up his studies, and retiring to some solitude, to see if prayer and penance would bring him peace of soul. Such was the bitter plight of Faber, when he determined to open his mind to Ignatius.

He could not have found a master more experienced in this kind of struggle. Ignatius listened to him with great kindness, encouraged him, and in order to settle his conscience, advised him first of all to make a general confession. After that, he got him used to frequenting the sacraments, to examining his conscience every day, and taught him the practice of the particular examen, in order to eradicate his faults one by one. He directed him in this way for two years, from the beginning of 1530 to 1532, during which time Faber not only regained his peace of soul, but also made marvellous progress in virtue.

It was then that Ignatius disclosed to him his plan of going to Jerusalem and consecrating himself to the salvation of souls. Faber grew enthusiastic over the idea, and offered himself to Ignatius as a companion for life. In 1533 he made the *Spiritual Exercises* with extraordinary fervour.

The second disciple whom Ignatius made in the College of St. Barbara, was the greatest conquest of his whole life, the most remarkable man of his kind the Church of God has ever seen, the chief of missioners. Francis Xavier was born on April 7, 1506, in the Castle of Xavier, near to Sanguesa in Navarre. His father was Juán de Jassu or Jaso, and his mother was María de Azpilcueta. They were the lords of Xavier, and both came of very distinguished stock. Juán de Jaso was

president of the royal council of the last kings of Navarre, whose loyal servant he remained in good and bad fortune. The family had suffered severe temporal losses in the revolutions of the time. As Francis was the youngest son, he gave himself up to the study of letters, to try to make for himself a position and fortune which he could not look for from his parents.

In 1525 he went to Paris, and lodged at the College of St. Barbara. In the course of his studies, he formed a close friendship with Peter Faber, and they both took the Licentiate in Arts on March 15, 1530. At this period of his career, his head was full of literary vanity—a thing common enough among students at a Renaissance university; but, on the other hand, he preserved a singular innocence of life. Although surrounded by so many occasions of sin in the University of Paris, he never lost his virginity, nor tarnished it with the slightest fault.

Ignatius soon began to treat of things of the spirit with Xavier, but found him somewhat inclined to resent these pious openings. He did not, however, give up hope, but persevered in his attempt to gain the heart of the young Navarrese. The latter had obtained a chair of philosophy at the Collège de Beauvais, at Paris. So Ignatius set to work to get him some good pupils, and thus to form a large and brilliant class for him. He could not have rendered a more pleasing service to a young professor, whose one ambition was to distinguish himself at the university; and it won for him the heart of Xavier. He could then whisper to him that well-known saying of Jesus Christ, 'What doth it profit a man to gain the whole world and suffer the loss of his own soul?' This

sublime truth repeated, and explained, by St. Ignatius, won for the Society of Jesus the Apostle of the Indies and of Japan.

In 1532, Ignatius with one stroke gained two more companions. Diego Laínez was born at Almazán (Soria) in 1512. He was beginning his studies at the University of Alcalá when Ignatius arrived there. Laínez knew him by sight, but did not make his acquaintance at that time. He continued his studies till he obtained his degree of Master of Arts on October 26, 1532. While studying at Alcalá, he formed a close friendship with a youth of Toledo, Alonso Salmerón, born in 1515, who was remarkable for his singular aptitude for letters. While the two friends, Laínez and Salmerón, were studying at Alcalá, they heard all the rumours current in the university about Ignatius. Some called him a saint, some condemned him as a secret sectary. And so one of the motives which determined the two youths to go to Paris, where they knew he was studying, was precisely their wish to meet such a singular man. They set out for that city towards the end of 1532, and arrived there so opportunely that the first person they encountered on dismounting at their inn was St. Ignatius. To know the Saint, to be convinced of his worth, and to offer themselves to him as his companions, was but the matter of a few days.

When these two joined Ignatius, the latter was already in communication with a young Portuguese, Simón Rodríguez de Azevedo. He was born at Voucella, in the diocese of Vizeu, and his excellent talents and natural disposition had induced the King of Portugal to send him to study at Paris at his expense.

He had an intense desire to serve God, but this was accompanied by certain anxious doubts, as he could not clearly see the kind of life to which our Lord called him. When, in conversation with Ignatius, he heard of his plan of going to Jerusalem, and of labouring for the conversion of souls, he realized at once that here was his vocation, and he entrusted himself completely to the direction of the Saint.

After Simón Rodríguez, a young Spaniard, Nicolás Alfonso, joined Ignatius. He was usually called Bobadilla, from the name of his native village, Bobadilla del Camino, in the diocese of Palencia. After studying at Valladolid and Alcalá, he had to come to Paris, with the idea of learning languages. As soon as he arrived, he heard talk of Ignatius as of one who was a favourite in the university, and could dispense favours to his friends. Bobadilla turned to him, and asked his protection. The Saint gave it generously, and set him up very comfortably in the university. This temporal aid made the heart of the young man ready to listen to the counsels of Ignatius, and eventually he attached himself to him for ever.

With these six youthful companions Ignatius began to deliberate how to carry out the mode of life which he had planned. All were agreed on the pilgrimage to the Holy Land, after which they would devote themselves to apostolic work. But for this latter, sacred studies were necessary; and so it was arranged that for another three years they should remain in Paris, till all had finished their theology, without making any exterior change in their manner of life. And to forearm themselves against the devil's temptations, and the inconstancy and weakness of human nature,

they judged it well to secure the stability of their resolutions by the solemn obligation of a vow. But what was to be the nature of this promise? After mature deliberation, all agreed that the vow should be threefold: poverty, chastity, and a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, to be followed by a life of apostolic labour.

As regards poverty, they determined that it was not their intention to declare themselves incapable of possessing property during the time of their studies, since such capacity seemed necessary for the prosecution of their studies; but that afterwards, when ordained priests, they would not accept stipends, either for Masses or for any other sacred ministry. The vow of chastity required no explanation. The following condition was attached to the vow of pilgrimage, viz. they would wait a year at Venice for a chance of embarking; if by the end of that time they had not been able to secure a passage, they would proceed to Rome, and, kneeling before the Supreme Pontiff, would place themselves at his disposal, that he might use them for the spiritual assistance of souls.

Having determined the nature and the limits of their vows, they arranged to make them on the Feast of the Assumption, August 15, 1534. It was daybreak when Ignatius and his six companions walked in silence to the Chapel of St. Denys, on the hill of Montmartre. They were alone. B. Peter Faber, who had been ordained priest a month before, celebrated Mass. At the time of Holy Communion, he turned towards his companions, holding the Blessed Sacrament in his hands. The others, kneeling around the altar, repeated aloud, one after another, the formula of the vows, and received Holy Communion: last of all, the celebrant,

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turning to the altar, in the same manner pronounced his vows.

When Mass was over, and they had made their thanksgiving, they went down to the foot of the hill, and seated near a small fountain, took their repast, which was certainly frugal, as it consisted of a little bread and water. There they spent the rest of the day in lively conversation, as Fr. Simón Rodríguez tells us, each of them giving free expression to the ardent sentiments with which the Holy Spirit inspired him.

These vows were renewed during the two following years, on the same day, in the same place, and with the same ceremonies—except that Ignatius could not be present at these renovations, because, as we shall soon see, he had to leave for Spain. To make up for this, at least by the time of the renovation of 1536, the joy of the six first favoured companions was heightened by the addition to their number of three more, Claude le Jay of Savoy, Paschase Broet of Bretancourt, near Amiens, and Jean Codure, a Provençal of Seyne, a department of the Lower Alps. With these three the companions of St. Ignatius numbered nine: the founding of the Society of Jesus was their work and his.

CHAPTER VII

FROM MONTMARTRE TO THE CONFIRMATION OF THE SOCIETY (1534-1540)

ST. IGNATIUS was not able to finish his course of theology in Paris. Various ailments, and more especially most acute pains in his stomach, compelled him, with the doctor's advice, to break off his studies, and return to his native country to see if its air would restore his strength. Another motive, beside the hope of regaining his health, urged him to undertake this journey. His companions had left under negotiation certain family affairs, which had to be settled before they could embrace the state of evangelical poverty. They now entrusted this business to Ignatius, gave him the necessary documents and power of attorney, and having procured for him a modest mount, sent him on his way to Spain.

This journey took place in the April of 1535. On his arrival at Azpeitia, his elder brother, as was natural, at once wished to receive him in his house; but the humble pilgrim declined the offer, and betook himself to the Magdalen Hospital. He lived there as a poor man during his three months' stay in the town. As he soon felt better in health, his zeal did not permit him to remain idle, and he at once commenced to do what he could for the good of his fellow-townsmen. He taught children the catechism. On Sunday he preached to the people, and so many flocked to hear

him, that he had to go out into the fields, and speak in the open. Certain good customs were instituted by him in Azpeitia : he managed to suppress the vice of gambling, arranged for the support of many poor people, brought in again the pious custom of ringing the bell for prayer three times a day, in the morning, at mid-day, and in the evening, and urged the people to pray for such as were in the state of mortal sin.

After three months, he felt himself a new man, and in the summer of 1535 he left his native town never again to return. He first went to Navarre, then to Almazan, Siguenza, and Toledo. At all these places his companions had business which awaited arrangement. When everything had been satisfactorily settled, he embarked for Genoa, and from Genoa went on foot to Bologna, where he was received in the Spanish College. There, as Fr. Polanco informs us, he tried to continue his studies, but as his illness at once began to manifest itself, he had to abandon the idea, and went on to Venice to wait for his companions, who were to go there from Paris. Before their arrival he gave the *Exercises* to a Bachelor of Málaga, Diego de Hoces ; so great was his fervour on their completion, that straightway he joined Ignatius.

The companions, who had remained in Paris, left that city on November 15, 1536, and after such discomforts as can easily be imagined in a journey made on foot in the middle of winter, arrived in Venice on January 6, 1537. They affectionately embraced St. Ignatius and the Bachelor Hoces ; and as it was impossible to get a passage to Jerusalem before summer, they determined to give themselves up meanwhile to the service of the sick. Dividing their services

between the hospital of St. Paul and that of the Incurables, they displayed such marvellous charity, that they attracted the attention of thoughtful people in Venice. Here also, as indeed everywhere, there were not wanting libellous statements with regard to St. Ignatius, followed by denunciations to the authorities ; but such opposition did not disturb the Saint very much, and soon died down.

Foreseeing the possibility of difficulties with regard to their pilgrimage to Jerusalem, they decided it would be better to present themselves to the Pope, and having laid their plans before him, to set out, armed with a Papal permission, which would smooth away all obstructions : they would also ask his leave for those who were not yet priests to receive Holy Orders. And so, about the middle of Lent 1537, they set out for Rome—all except Ignatius, who did not judge it wise to show himself there, because there were then two men at the Papal Court who were not too well disposed towards him. One was Cardinal Juan Pedro Carafa, with whom shortly before he had had an unpleasant encounter in Venice : the other was Doctor Pedro Ortiz, who had shown himself somewhat hostile in Paris.

The companions of Ignatius, on their arrival in Rome, found Doctor Ortiz completely changed. He insisted on presenting them himself to Paul III, and helped them with their business. His Holiness was desirous of a more intimate knowledge of these men whom the Doctor had recommended to him, and gave orders that one day during dinner the newcomers should hold a theological disputation in his presence, so that they might have an opportunity of displaying

their talent and knowledge. This was done, and Paul III was so much impressed by their learning and virtue, that he at once granted them, together with his blessing, the two favours they asked, and also an alms for their journey to the Holy Land.

They returned to Venice, and those of them who were not yet priests prepared to receive Holy Orders, in view of the special permission granted them by the Pope. St. Ignatius received Minor Orders on June 10 : the sub-diaconate on the 15th, the diaconate on the 17th, and finally, on the Feast of St. John the Baptist, June 24, 1537, the priesthood. Together with him were ordained St. Francis Xavier and Frs. Laínez, Salmerón, Rodríguez, Bobadilla and Codure. Invested with the priestly dignity, they arranged to retire awhile into solitude to prepare themselves for saying their first Masses. Ignatius and Laínez went to Vicenza, Xavier and Salmerón to Montecelso, le Jay and Rodríguez to Bassano, Broet and Bobadilla to Verona, Cordure and Hoces to Treviso. They did not wish to go far from Venice, so as to be at hand and ready to embark at the first chance of a passage to Palestine.

After forty days of retreat, Fr. Codure went to Vicenza and spoke with St. Ignatius, Faber, and Laínez as to whether they might not at once give themselves up whole-heartedly to the ministry of preaching. The idea was welcomed by all ; and the four went out boldly into the streets and squares. Wherever they found a crowd, they stopped : waving their hats, they called the people together, and invited all to hear the Word of God. The rest of the companions did the same in the other towns. In this way,

the Society of Jesus entered on the public work of its apostolate even before it was approved by the Holy See. The first-fruits they gathered from these earliest sermons were the laughter of the people for the miserable Italian they spoke. But the simple Catholic folk soon came to see the spirit which animated these preachers, and began to listen with reverence to their words and to help them generously with alms.

In September, the eleven met at Vicenza, and the new priests celebrated Mass—with the exception of St. Ignatius, who waited more than a year longer, till the Christmas of 1538. The purpose of their meeting was to come to an agreement as to the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The good season was passing, and no chance of a passage had offered itself. That year, 1537, was the first year for a long time in which pilgrims could not go to Jerusalem, on account of hostilities between Venice and the Turks. When winter came, all their hopes would vanish. It remained, therefore, for our Fathers to fulfil the second part of their vow, viz. to prostrate themselves at the feet of the Supreme Pontiff, and offer themselves to labour at his bidding in any part whatsoever of the world, for the glory of God and the good of souls.

After many prayers, and much consultation, they determined that Ignatius, Faber, and Laínez should go to Rome to reconnoitre, while the others, spreading through the various university towns of Italy, should devote themselves to the apostolic ministry, and bring other youths to embrace their mode of life. Before separating, they settled certain practices of piety, which all should observe. They were to live on alms, and their home should be the hospitals. As they

went in pairs, each week one should be the superior of the other. In their sermons, they would exhort to penance and the exercise of good works. They would hear confessions and help the sick in the hospitals. Finally this question was raised: 'What shall we say to those who ask us who and what we are?' 'You will reply,' said Ignatius, 'that you belong to the Society of Jesus: that will be our name.'

With their plan of life traced out, all of them left Vicenza. Francis Xavier and Bobadilla went to Bologna; Rodríguez and le Jay to Ferrara; Salmerón and Broet to Siena; Hoces and Codure to Padua. Ignatius, with Faber and Laínez, took the road for Rome. Just before reaching the end of the journey, the Saint had the most famous vision of his life. Six miles from Rome, at a place called La Storta, he had entered a hermitage chapel to pray. While praying most fervently, he was rapt into an ecstasy, and saw the Eternal Father, together with Jesus bearing his Cross on his shoulder. The Father, with manifestations of singular love, recommended Ignatius and his companions to the care of his divine Son; and Jesus, his gaze fixed most tenderly on Ignatius, spoke these words: 'I will be propitious to you at Rome.' 'Ego vobis Romae propitius ero.' Inexpressible consolation flooded the soul of the Saint, and on leaving the chapel, almost beside himself with joy, he said to his companions, 'I do not know what awaits us at Rome; I do not know whether it is the will of God that we should die by crucifixion or on the rack. I know only one thing—that Jesus will be propitious there.' And he recounted the whole vision in every detail: it was the only one which he spontaneously related to his companions.

They entered the Eternal City at the end of November 1537, and presented themselves before the Pope. The latter received them with the greatest kindness, and forthwith entrusted Laínez with the giving of lectures in theology in the Collegio della Sapienza, and Faber with the exegesis of S. Scripture in the same college. Ignatius devoted himself to preaching to the people, and above all to giving the *Spiritual Exercises* to people of distinction. Among the latter, Doctor Ortiz merits mention: he retired to Monte Cassino and made the whole *Exercises* for a month with notable good to his soul. While giving these *Exercises*, Ignatius knew by revelation of the death of one of his companions—the Bachelor Diego de Hoces, who, worn out by his apostolic labours, died a holy death at Padua.

Meanwhile, the admirable example of virtue and of zeal of these fervent servants of Christ was attracting attention on all sides. Vocations began to take root, especially among the younger clergy, who wished to imitate their mode of life. Ignatius, therefore, decided that it was time to take the final step in realizing his project. It was necessary to turn their pious association into a religious organization, to determine the substantial points of their method of life, to lay them before the Supreme Pontiff, and obtain official recognition of the Society of Jesus as a religious order. To carry through this work of the highest importance, he called all his companions to Rome, and by Easter 1538 all were reunited.

But an unexpected trouble interrupted for a year this work of the establishment of the Society. A certain preacher, infected with the errors of Luther, was

craftily teaching false doctrine in his sermons. Our Fathers refuted him ; but with the assistance of powerful friends, he raised a storm of calumnies against Ignatius and his companions. It was said that Ignatius had been condemned several times as a heretic, that his companions were fugitives from Spain, France, and Venice ; and other grave charges were made against them.

Ignatius had recourse to the tribunals. His detractors were compelled to appear, and it was not a difficult matter to manifest in the clearest possible light the innocence of our Fathers. The scandal was in great part repaired by the publicity of the trial. But his enemies tried to bury the whole affair, and were scheming to arrange matters so that sentence should not be given. Ignatius, however, would not allow the business to be half done, and perceiving that things were shaping for delay, he appealed in person to Paul III, explained the whole incident to him, and humbly besought him to order the judge to promulgate his sentence. His Holiness consented, and on November 18, 1538, the Governor of Rome, by order of the Pope, pronounced sentence establishing the innocence of Ignatius and his companions.

When the good name of the Fathers had been restored, and things were running in their normal manner, Ignatius and his nine companions began, in the middle of Lent 1539, to discuss the canonical foundation of the Society of Jesus. Fr. Jean Codure acted as secretary.

First of all, the following question was proposed: ' Seeing that the Pope wishes to send us to different parts of the world, and that in consequence we shall

have to be separated from one another in our labours, should we organize ourselves as a religious body in order to preserve the unity which we now possess?' Without hesitation, all replied in the affirmative. A second point was discussed: besides the vows of poverty and chastity, which they had already taken in Paris, should they take a vow of obedience to one of themselves, to be elected superior? On this point there was much doubt and hesitancy. Many days passed before they could come to a decision. They agreed to have recourse to prayer and penance, and finally 'with the help of God,' says Codure, 'we decided, not by a plurality of votes, but with complete unanimity, that it was more convenient, and indeed necessary, to live under obedience.'

These points cleared up, others were debated: poverty, the teaching of the catechism, colleges for the education of youth, and other matters of no less importance were dealt with. The consultation ended on June 24, 1539.

Thereupon, St. Ignatius formulated, under five headings, a brief résumé of the Institute, to be presented to the Supreme Pontiff. He showed it first to the Master of the Sacred Palace, Fr. Tomas Badia, and as the latter was favourable, Ignatius arranged for it to be put before the Pope. Cardinal Gaspar Contarini undertook this duty. On September 3, 1539, the five 'chapters' were presented to Paul III, who was very favourably impressed with them. At once, by word of mouth, he signified his approval, and on the same day, Contarini acquainted St. Ignatius with the fact. But they had to wait a year for the official confirmation of the Society. Before issuing the Bull, Paul III

appointed a commission to examine the project: its most illustrious member, Cardinal Guidiccione, resolutely opposed the idea of founding a new religious order. St. Ignatius then offered to God three thousand Masses for the successful issue of the negotiations. This, together with his own explanations, *viva voce*, overcame the Cardinal's opposition; and on September 27, 1540, the Bull *Regimini militantis Ecclesiae* was promulgated, approving and confirming the Society of Jesus.

CHAPTER VIII

ST. IGNATIUS AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE SOCIETY

IN accordance with the Bull of Paul III, which confirmed the Society, it was necessary to elect a General of the whole order, and to arrange for the profession of the first Fathers. During the year which had been spent in the examination of the Institute in the Pontifical Court, the Fathers themselves had again dispersed. Paul III had sent them here and there, to labour in the vineyard of the Lord. St. Ignatius now recalled the nine companions for the election of the General. Four of them, however, could not come. Xavier and Rodríguez were in Lisbon, hoping to embark for the Indies ; Faber in Germany and Bobadilla in Bisignano were working under the orders of the Pope. Ignatius proposed that these should send their votes in writing, and the votes of the first three were in fact so given.

The six others—Ignatius, Laínez, Salmerón, le Jay, Broet, and Codure—met in Rome, and proceeded to the election of the General in the Lent of 1541. After some days spent in prayer, they all presented their votes in writing. These six votes, together with those of the absent Fathers, were deposited in an urn (perhaps to await the vote of Bobadilla, which never arrived). After three days, they scrutinized the votes of those present, and of Faber, Xavier, and Rodríguez,

who were absent: by a unanimous vote St. Ignatius stood elected General. Before accepting the office, the Saint brought certain difficulties to their notice, and besought his companions to think over the matter more carefully for three or four days. They agreed, and after four days, a second time elected St. Ignatius by a unanimous vote. He then asked them to permit him to consult his confessor to see if he ought in conscience to accept the charge. They agreed, although not without difficulty. St. Ignatius then betook himself to the monastery of St. Pietro in Montorio to consult Fr. Teodosio, a Franciscan, who was then his confessor. He passed three days there, making a general confession of his whole life, and finally on Easter Sunday asked his confessor's opinion. Fr. Teodosio replied that he must accept the charge, since it was clearly the will of God.

The Saint gave way, and arranged with his companions that they should make their profession on the following Friday (April 22, 1541) in the church of St. Paul's. The six of them met there and heard each other's confessions. St. Ignatius then said Mass in the chapel of Our Lady. At the Communion, St. Ignatius, holding in one hand the Sacred Host, took in the other the formula of profession, and turning to his companions read it aloud. Then he communicated. He then turned to his companions, with five consecrated particles on the paten. They made their profession, and received Holy Communion at the hands of St. Ignatius. Having made their thanksgiving after Mass, and prayed awhile at the privileged altars, they met at the high altar, and all embraced St. Ignatius with the most tender affection.

With this act the foundation of the Society might be said to have been completed, although much remained for the holy Founder to do. As this was the great work of St. Ignatius' life, it seems best to set out briefly, and step by step, the story of the development of this magnificent enterprise.

In the first place, there is no room for doubt that the fundamental idea of the Society, and the substantial points of the Institute, were revealed by God to St. Ignatius at Manresa, and—more precisely—according to the testimony of Fr. Jerome Nadal, in the famous vision he received on the banks of the Cardoner.[1] Immediately on his return from Jerusalem he commenced his student career, but he also commenced to lay the foundation of the Society, by grouping around himself companions animated with his spirit and with a desire to follow him. For six years (1524 to 1530) his efforts were in vain : neither the four companions who joined him in Spain, nor the first three he made in Paris, remained firm in their good resolutions.

Between 1530 and 1534 he attached to himself the first six companions who persevered—Faber, Xavier, Laínez, Salmerón, Rodríguez and Bobadilla : soon after these came le Jay, Broet, and Codure. He observed two principles in his dealing with them—first, not to impose his own will on the rest, but to act as one of them, doing nothing without asking their counsel and advice ; and second, gently to introduce such apostolic practices and labours as were to be established later in the Society of Jesus. But however

[1] The reader may find the proof of this statement in our *Historia de la Compañia de Jesús en la Asistencia de España*, t.I, p. 102.

much Ignatius hid himself, he was always the guiding spirit of the group ; for, as Fr. Simon Rodríguez puts it, his companions always venerated him as a Father, and followed him as a guide. *Semper reliqui socii tamquam parentem coluerunt, tamquam ducem secuti sunt.*

In this quiet way, Ignatius introduced various ideas which were afterwards formulated in Rules, and before the Society of Jesus existed he had imperceptibly made Jesuits of his companions. At the deliberation at Montmartre as to their vow of poverty, they had decided not to accept stipends for their spiritual ministrations ; here one touches a great principle of the form of poverty established in the Society. When our Fathers were sent to preach in the cities of Italy, they manifested great zeal in teaching the catechism to children. On their journeys, they went on foot and begged for alms, thus initiating one of the ' experiments ' of the future novices of the Society. When they separated into groups of two in their visits to various cities, Ignatius arranged that there should always be a Frenchman and a Spaniard together—a custom which was observed also in their journeyings. In this way he implanted that sweet fraternal charity, which rises above diversity of nationality, character, and custom, and which has been, is, and we hope always will be, the greatest charm of religious life in the Society. Finally, when separating at Vicenza towards the end of 1537, we see them deciding that every week in turn one shall be the superior of the other. Thus, before the principle of obedience in the Society had been decided on at Rome, it had already been put into practice by the first companions.

In the year which elapsed between the discussions

of 1539 and the confirmation of the Society, neither Ignatius nor his companions took any step in the organization of the Order. While Ignatius was urging the promulgation of the Papal Bull, the other Fathers, sent to various cities by the Pope, were everywhere performing prodigies of apostolic zeal. It was at this period that the celebrated mission of St. Francis Xavier and of Fr. Rodríguez to the Indies took place. With regard to this well-known event it may be noted that although Ignatius had not yet been appointed superior of the Society, he was so in reality, and his companions looked on him as such.

When elected General, the Saint continued his work as founder, and employed his energies in two distinct fields: first, the procuring of the Bulls and pontifical documents necessary for the setting up of the Society; second, the writing of the Constitutions and Rules. The Bull of 1540 had limited the number of members to sixty. After three and a half years, he obtained the Bull *Iniunctum Nobis*, March 14, 1544, which gave permission to admit, without any limit of numbers, all fit subjects. On June 3, 1545, St. Ignatius obtained for the priests of the Society general permission to preach, hear confessions, commute vows, together with other similar privileges which are usually granted to religious. On June 5, 1546, Paul III granted leave to admit 'coadjutors,' both 'spiritual,' to help the professed Fathers in the sacred ministry, and 'temporal,' to be occupied in work in the house. From this date forward there were established in the Society all the grades which it now possesses—two preparatory, and four final. The first grade is that of the novices, who for two years are tested in their

vocation; the second is that of the religious who, having completed the noviceship and taken simple vows, prepare themselves for several years by the practice of virtue, and—in the case of scholastics—by their studies, for final incorporation in the Society. The four definitive grades are (1) the professed of four vows; (2) the professed of three vows; (3) the formed spiritual coadjutors and (4) the formed temporal coadjutors.

St. Ignatius obtained other important privileges from Paul III in the Bull *Licet debitum* of October 18, 1549; but his attention was chiefly concentrated on the preparation of the most important Bull of Julius III, of July 21, 1550.[1] From the very beginning, our Fathers had noted that the formula of the Institute, approved by Paul III, was not clear and precise in every detail. It was necessary to 'remodel the Bull,' as they used to say, i.e. to obtain another Pontifical Bull in which certain fundamental points of our method of life should be explained and defined. St. Ignatius worked at this for a long time, helped principally by Fr. Juán Polanco, who was his secretary from 1547. This energetic Father, in his study of the Bull of 1540, noted about 102 changes which could be made in it. He communicated his remarks to other Fathers, and it was arranged that each should write down in the margin of the document his own opinion on the given points. The MS. was passed on to St. Ignatius, and he wrote his views after those of Polanco and the others.

All these alterations were collated, and advice was taken of persons versed in the style and custom of the Roman Curia. A new approbation of the Society was

[1] i.e. the Bull *Exposcit debitum*.—Tr.

drafted, and the Bull of Julius III, which has noteworthy advantages over that of his predecessor, was formulated. The end of the Order, the means appropriate for its furtherance, the election of the General, the monarchic government of the Society, the exclusion of the capitular system, the manner of founding colleges, the vows, simple and solemn, the various grades of the religious—in short, all the characteristics of the Order were therein so clearly described, that it could not be confused with any other. It is with good reason, therefore, that the earliest Fathers looked on this Bull of Julius III as the corner-stone of the Institute.

While this pontifical document was being prepared, St. Ignatius was writing the *Constitutions*: he began this work in 1547 and finished it in 1550. Realizing the delicacy, and importance for all time, of the question of admission of subjects into the Society, he wrote a separate and preliminary book, called the *Examen*, in which he defined with all possible clearness this important part of our legislation. When the work was finished, Ignatius called to Rome such of his first companions as were still alive and could make the journey; he also called certain other eminent Fathers of the Society. To all of them he showed the *Examen* and *Constitutions* he had written, and begged them to express their opinions on them with complete freedom.

It is not possible to state with absolute certainty the names of all the Fathers thus called together. We know that Frs. Laínez, Polanco, Frusio and Miona were living in Rome at the time. In the October of 1550, St. Francis Borgia (who was still dressed as the Duke of Gandia), and Frs. Araoz, Oviedo, Miron,

Estrada, Rojas, Tablares, and Emmanuel de Sa, arrived. In the January of 1551, came Frs. Salmerón and Simón Rodríguez. These examined the MS. of Ignatius; they marvelled at the wisdom of the holy Founder, and all approved absolutely the *Constitutions*. Some observations on points of secondary importance were made, but none touched the substance of the Institute.

Ignatius collected these observations, and in the years 1551 and 1552 went over his work, adding not a few declaratory notes, and clearing up any points which seemed vague and obscure in his first redaction. After this revision, the Saint arranged that the *Constitutions* should be promulgated in Europe by Fr. Jerome Nadal, and in India by Fr. Antonio de Cuadros. He, however, made it clear to all, that by such promulgation he did not intend to give force of law to the *Constitutions*, as that appertained to the General Congregation of the Society: his intention was that they should be put into practice by way of trial. The happiest results attended this experiment, and in his last years the Saint succeeded in regulating the life of his sons by these *Constitutions*. But up to the end, the prudent legislator did not take his hand from the work. As doubts, suggestions, petitions reached him, he went on making his ideas clear, giving further precision to his language, and explaining with new declaratory notes the version already promulgated. Hence one can distinguish three texts of the *Constitutions*: the first is that which Ignatius wrote in the three years 1547 to 1550; the second is that which he recast in view of the suggestions of the Fathers in the years 1551 and 1552, and which later was promulgated

to the whole Society ; the third is that which he left at his death. This latter differs little from the second text. Besides the *Examen* and the *Constitutions*, which form a complete body of law, Ignatius wrote the *Rules of Modesty*, and other Rules which have to do with domestic duties in our houses and colleges.

It is clear from the above that the foundation of the Society took up practically the whole life of Ignatius after he had consecrated himself to the divine service. To speak in definite terms of years, he spent thirty-two years in this work—from 1524, when he commenced his studies, and began to collect his companions in Barcelona, to 1556, when he died.

CHAPTER IX

EXPANSION OF THE SOCIETY DURING THE LIFETIME OF ST. IGNATIUS (1540-1556)

AFTER the confirmation of the Society by Paul III, St. Ignatius resided in Rome continuously until his death in 1556. These sixteen years were the most fruitful period of his life. During them not only was the Society of Jesus consolidated and spread throughout the whole world, but also the religious principles, the ascetical maxims, the apostolic activities—in short, the very spirit of Ignatius, began to take root in the Catholic Church, and to exercise on the modern world an influence of moral regeneration which was truly stupendous, and which has not yet, we think, received sufficient attention. We will briefly summarize the apostolic work of our Father in various spheres, commencing, as is natural, with the firm establishment of the Society, which was Ignatius' principal care, and the source from which sprang all his other enterprises for the glory of God.

Three periods can be distinguished in those first sixteen years of the life of the Order. In the first six, the members of the Society were few in number, began to establish the first houses in the midst of great privations, and, under the immediate orders of Ignatius himself, undertook various missions and apostolic labours for the glory of God and the reform of the

Christian people. After 1546, the Saint began to appoint Provincials, to whom he delegated part of his authority, and by whose means the Society obtained a footing in the principal centres of Europe. At the same time, the Jesuits began their work for the education of youth, and laid the foundations of well-known colleges in various important cities. Finally, in 1552, the *Constitutions* were first promulgated, whereby the Society became possessed of a written code of law. This latter regulated on a uniform system the life of the colleges, which in the last four years of the Holy Founder multiplied with marvellous rapidity.

Even before promulgating the Bull of confirmation of the Society, Paul III had set aside several Fathers to work in the cities of Italy. Faber and Laínez were sent to Parma in the autumn of 1539, together with Cardinal Santangelo, and preached there for about a year with the greatest success. Bobadilla, meanwhile, was exercising his zeal in Calabria. In October of the same year, Antonio de Araoz, who had just entered the Society, and was not yet a priest, was sent to Spain. Beginning in Barcelona, and proceeding thence to Montserrat, Saragossa, Almazán, and Toledo he preached the word of God with great fervour, and was everywhere received with open arms. He then spent several months in Guipúzcoa, where he had to settle some family business, and when this was finished he returned to Rome in the summer of 1541, without having established any house of the Society in Spain.

The same phenomenon can be noticed in various important missions of that period. Our Fathers used to visit a city, preach and work there for the good of souls, at times widening the sphere of their zeal to

PORTRAIT OF ST. IGNATIUS, MADE ON THE DAY OF HIS DEATH

[*to face p. 71*

embrace the surrounding district, and then after some months either returned to Rome, or took themselves off to another locality without having opened any fixed residence of the Order in the theatre of their apostolic exertions. Fr. Bobadilla laboured in Calabria for a long time, especially in Bisignano in 1540 and 1541, and visited practically the whole diocese with marvellous fruit of souls. He returned at the end of 1541 without having founded any house of the Society. The same is true of B. Peter Faber. He was sent to the Diet of Worms, in October 1540, with Dr. Ortiz, worked for several months in various towns of Germany, and in the summer of 1541 went to Spain with the same Dr. Ortiz; but neither in Germany nor in Spain could he at that time found any house or college of the Society.

The first houses of Ours began to spring up in those towns where vocations were most numerous. The first of all was naturally in Rome, and was opened by St. Ignatius and his first nine companions, even before the foundation of the Society. From 1538, vocations began to manifest themselves in the Eternal City, and when, in April 1541, the holy Founder was elected General, there were already twelve subjects in that first house, besides the first Fathers. 'In this same city of Rome,' says Ribadeneira, 'there were a dozen of us, who had joined the first Fathers, to follow their manner of life and the Institute. We lived in great poverty and discomfort, in an old, dilapidated, hired house in front of the old church of the Society; it was later knocked down, and its place was taken by the one we now possess.'

The second house of the Society was in Lisbon: it

became the college dedicated to St. Anthony. Paul III and St. Ignatius, at the request of John III, had sent to Lisbon St. Francis Xavier and Fr. Simon Rodríguez, with the idea that they should proceed to the Indies. Fr. Simon arrived first, and then Xavier, in the spring of 1540. They performed such miracles of apostolic zeal, that the King decided to keep them in the capital for the greater good of his subjects. He communicated his wish to the Pope and St. Ignatius, but agreed with the proposal of St. Ignatius that Xavier should go to the Indies and Fr. Simon should remain in Portugal. The great Apostle of the East embarked for his mission in the April of 1541, and his companion, who remained at Lisbon, founded a house of the Society in the monastery of St. Anthony, which John III generously gave him. Soon after, in the same year 1541, a third small house was opened in Paris to receive some young men of the Society who had to pursue their studies in that city.

In the following year, 1542, there began to be opened colleges destined solely for young Jesuit religious who were engaged in studies.

Fr. Polanco takes care to inform us that the fourth house of the Society was the college of Padua. He himself and the young priest Andrea Frusio were sent there from Rome to continue their studies at the famous university, and were joined by Jerónimo Otelo, who had just joined the Society, and Esteban Baroello. The four of them settled in a poor house in the April of 1542. This was the beginning of the college of Padua, whose founder and protector was Andrés Lipomano, known as the Prior of the Trinity, from the name of a benefice which he held in Venice.

Two months later, in the June of the same year, began the famous college of Coimbra, which was the most frequented and the most flourishing of all the colleges of the early Society. The generosity of John III provided a splendid foundation, and so many vocations to the Society took root there, that in two years' time there were sixty young Jesuits receiving their religious education in Coimbra.

In the same year the Society gained a footing in the Low Countries in an unexpected manner. In July, Francis I declared war on the Emperor Charles V, and, as a military precaution, ordered all the subjects of his enemy to leave his dominions within a few days. There were already in Paris, under Fr. Jerónimo Doménech, a community of sixteen young Jesuit students, among whom was the celebrated Fr. Ribadeneira. Nine of them were Spaniards or Flemings, and therefore subjects of Charles V. These had to leave Paris, and under the guidance of Fr. Doménech they journeyed, at the peril of their lives, to Flanders. In August, they reached Louvain ; and there, beside the celebrated university, they started that college which, throughout the history of the Society, was destined to be so fruitful both in spiritual and literary work.

In the following year, 1543, houses of the Society sprang up in Spain, Germany, and in the East Indies. Fr. Araoz and B. Peter Faber had exercised their zeal in Spain since 1539, but had founded neither house nor college. This was, however, done by Francis de Villanova, a humble native of Estremadura. He was admitted by St. Ignatius into the Society in Rome at the age of thirty-two, and after some months of noviceship

was sent to Coimbra for his studies. As his health was bad there, the Saint arranged for him to go to Alcalá, where he could continue his studies. In April 1543 Villanova entered the town, and began his studies in grammar. He was there alone two years before Faber and Araoz in 1545 sent him some companions. With these he began the college of Alcalá, the most fruitful in religious vocations in the whole of Spain during the first thirty years of the Society. In the same year 1543 St. Francis Xavier opened at Goa the first college in the Indies, or, to speak more accurately, took over the direction of one already established for the education of the natives. Meanwhile, thanks to the efforts of B. Peter Faber and of St. Peter Canisius, who some little time before had been admitted into the Society, our first college in Germany was opened at Cologne. In 1544 the college at Valencia was opened, in 1545 that of Valladolid, and shortly afterwards in the same year that of Gandia. At the same time Jesuits established themselves in Barcelona.

On all sides there were numerous vocations to the Society ; but this was the case chiefly in four centres—in Rome and Central Italy, in Portugal, in Central Spain, and in Flanders. The year 1546 was notable for the vocation of St. Francis Borgia, whom St. Ignatius admitted in October, although he had to retain his dukedom and the administration of his property for four and a half years, in order to see to the settlement of his sons and the arrangement of other affairs of importance. The entrance of this man is a fact of capital importance in the history of the Society ; for by his alms, and chiefly by his virtue, and the great authority he exercised with the Emperor and with the

King of Portugal, he was, in truth, for many years its Guardian Angel in the Iberian peninsula.

At this time, St. Ignatius introduced the practice, common to all religious orders, of appointing Provincials. On October 10, 1546, he named Fr. Simon Rodríguez Provincial of Portugal ; the following year, Fr. Anthony Araoz was chosen Provincial of Spain. The Society then began to educate in its colleges pupils other than its own members, and this ministry, which is so characteristic of the Order, expanded day by day.

In 1547 the first group of missionaries for Africa set out from Portugal ; it consisted of three Fathers and a brother coadjutor, who went to the Congo.

In 1548 the College of Salamanca was opened in Spain, and in the same year the Society made a truly triumphal entry into Sicily : the two famous colleges of Messina and Palermo were founded, and reaped so copious a harvest of spiritual good, that its like could scarcely be found in any other country. At the same time, through the preaching of Fr. Laínez, the Society established itself in Florence, and preliminary measures were taken for gaining a footing in Bologna, Venice, and other leading towns of Italy.

The year 1549 is memorable in our history for the establishment of the great missions of Japan and Brazil. The great Xavier had already been evangelising the Indies for seven years, and the whole East was in astonishment at his virtue and his miracles. He had traversed the coast of India as far as Cape Comorin, had preached in the island of Ceylon, in Meliapor, in the peninsula of Malacca, in the numerous islands of the Moluccas, and had already opened several residences in those remote countries. On

August 15 of that year he landed in Japan, and began to lay the foundation of the most wonderful mission of modern times. In the same year Fr. Manuel de Nobrega and Fr. Juán de Azpilcueta set foot in Brazil, and founded there a mission which soon became a province of the Society.

In the following years the fruit of a truly marvellous energy was seen in the numerous colleges which were founded throughout Europe. We cannot enumerate all of them ; but we must call attention to the two foundations, in the capital of the Catholic world, which were due to St. Ignatius himself—the Collegio Romano and the Collegio Germanico. On February 18, 1551, fourteen young religious of the Society, under the direction of Fr. Juan Pelletier, a Frenchman, settled in a modest house in the Via Capitolina, whence sprang the Collegio Romano, which, in the mind of St. Ignatius, was to be the model of all the colleges of the Society. Our young men were to be educated there in virtue and letters, and the same opportunities were to be given to other students ; and all this was to be under the eye of the Supreme Pontiff, who, at close quarters, could watch over its orthodoxy of doctrine and purity of morals.

The German College was, in the first instance, the idea of Cardinal Morone. St. Ignatius opened it in 1552 to form in virtue and knowledge the German youth destined to be the apostles of their native land.

In 1552, also, began the great work of the promulgation of the *Constitutions*. Fr. Jerónimo Nadal, who was chosen for this task, promulgated them, and introduced their practice, first in Sicily. In the following years, 1553-1554, he established them firmly in

Portugal and Spain, and in the last years of St. Ignatius' life he did the same in Northern Italy. The visit of Fr. Nadal was followed by a great outburst of vocations. Especially in Spain many colleges were opened, and in the spring of 1554 Fr. Nadal, by order of St. Ignatius, divided Spain into three provinces, Aragon, Andalucia, and Castile. We must add that, at the time of St. Ignatius' death, a missionary expedition was on its way to Ethiopia.

Fr. Polanco, writing six days after the death of St. Ignatius to Fr. Ribadeneira, who was in Flanders, draws the following picture of the Society, with which we will close this chapter. ' Our Father, between 1540, when the Society was confirmed, and the present day, had established twelve well organized provinces ; or thirteen, if we include Ethiopia, where Fr. Tibertius or Anthony de Cuadros was Provincial. There in Flanders they have news of six, viz. of the Indies, Brazil, Portugal, Andalucia, Castile, and Aragon ; in Sicily, Master Jerome Doménech is Provincial ; in Italy, outside Rome, Master Laínez. In Rome, Naples, and Tivoli there is no Provincial, as all this region can conveniently be governed by the General. In France, the Provincial is Master Pascasio (Broet) ; in Flanders, Master Bernard Oliverio, and in Germany Dr. Canisius. The colleges and houses opened during the lifetime of our Father number more than a hundred. God be praised, who has deigned to give so great an increase to this least Society.' Fr. Polanco does not give the number of subjects of the Society at that time ; but from other sources we know that there were nearly a thousand. One can truly say *Digitus Dei est hic* (the hand of God is here).

CHAPTER X

ST. IGNATIUS AND THE SPIRITUAL REFORMATION OF THE CHRISTIAN WORLD

AT the beginning of the sixteenth century no feeling was more general or insistent among Christian peoples than the desire for a reform. All deplored the appalling moral decadence of the Church. In sermons, books of history, moral treatises, comedies, satires, in every possible form of literature the vices of society were denounced and a remedy demanded. But in the midst of this general longing for reform, there were but few who applied themselves seriously to bring it about. Among the few was St. Ignatius. Without writing any discourse, or satire, or invective against vice, he laboured to the utmost to root it out and to renew in the Church the Spirit of Christ.

The first means he adopted was preaching—the most obvious and the most natural means, and one which the Church of God has always employed. Ever since he and his companions, just ordained priests, began to preach in the streets and squares of Vicenza in the summer of 1537, the spreading of the Word of God among the Christian people had always been the constant occupation of our Fathers. St. Ignatius himself had to contend with a serious obstacle in the exercise of this ministry: he laboured under a great difficulty in expressing himself. If it cost him much to speak or

write in Spanish, what must it have been with other languages? Fr. Ribadeneira, who heard him preach in Italian in 1540, tells us that the Saint did not pronounce a single phrase which did not in some way call for correction. Nevertheless, those sermons of his produced marvellous results, especially when, at the end of his sermon, he raised his voice and pronounced some such words as the following: 'Love God with all your heart, with all your strength, with all your soul, with all your life.' Those who heard him fell on their knees, profoundly stirred to devotion. Fr. Lainez was dumbfounded at the sight of the compunction with which men flocked to confession after listening to the sermons of St. Ignatius. Sublime virtue and an incomparable zeal triumphed over all obstacles, and supplied for all the skill and eloquence in the world.

He inspired all his sons with the apostolic zeal which consumed himself. It was Fr. Laínez who won the greatest triumphs with his preaching in the early years of the Society. First of all in Parma, Piacenza, Venice, Padua, and Bassano, afterwards in Florence, Naples, and Palermo, then a second time in Florence, in Pisa, and finally in Genoa, the eloquence of Laínez fascinated whole cities, winning, not the applause of the theatre, but a salutary change of life and a spiritual re-birth in the Catholic population of Italy. If in a smaller degree, yet real success attended the work of Fathers Salmerón, Broet, Bobadilla, Estrada, Doménech in other towns of Italy. There were also younger men who, even in St. Ignatius' lifetime, began to make themselves felt. In Spain the Society made its mark with the brilliant and largely-attended sermons of Fr.

Antonio de Araoz, who preached in Barcelona, Valencia, Valladolid, Alcalá, and other important towns. In Portugal, so deep was the impression made by the fervent sermons of the Jesuits, that the people honoured them with the name of Apostles.

All this was nothing new in the Church : what had a certain novelty was the teaching of the catechism—at least in the form which this apostolate took. St. Ignatius was really in love with this ministry. While staying at Manresa, he used to teach the catechism to the little children who came to the hospital of St. Lucy. When he spent a short time in Azpeitia in 1535 he collected the children and poor people in the streets and explained to them the truths of faith. In the formula of profession made by him and his companions when he was elected General, explicit mention is made of the duty of teaching Christian doctrine to children : and the first two duties he performed, when taking up the supreme government of the Society, were to serve in the kitchen and to teach little children the catechism for a period of forty-six days. St. Francis Xavier began his apostolate in the Indies in the same manner. He went out into the streets of Goa, ringing a bell, and inviting the fathers and mothers of families to send their children to catechism. When a good number of them had assembled, he went with them to a church, and there taught them the truths of faith.

The example set by Ignatius and Xavier was later always followed by their religious brethren. In all the old letters and narratives dealing with the apostolic labours of our Fathers, reference is made to the teaching of catechism. The method followed varied with the customs and habits of various regions.

Here, for example, is the method adopted in various cities of Spain. A brother went out into the street methodically ringing a bell: he was followed by one or more Fathers, brothers, and students, who with their long canes marshalled the crowd of little ones. When a number had collected, a procession was formed and litanies or pious verses were sung containing the truths of Christian doctrine. In this way they walked through the chief streets of the town till they came to our church; or else a halt was made in a large square, especially if the church was not big enough to hold the crowd. When the audience was arranged as well as might be, the Father ascended the pulpit, or table, or platform (if they were in the square) and explained the mysteries of the faith. Generally two intelligent children were picked out and made to stand in front of the pulpit or platform; they repeated the text of the catechism by question and answer before the whole audience, the Father giving necessary explanations and such instructions as seemed most useful. Before finishing, a third child told a little story to illustrate the mercy of God, the necessity of confession and its integrity, or some other fundamental principle of Christian morality. Finally, a hymn was sung. The spiritual good effected by these catechisms in all parts of the world, but especially in Spain, was incredible. Very often the children themselves were of less consequence; for an immense crowd of people of all classes gathered round, and listened with the greatest devotion and in silence to the explanations and exhortations which the catechist directed to them. In Segovia in 1559 a catechism of this sort was given to a crowd of 3,000 children, around whom there was

grouped an audience it would have been difficult to number. Similar scenes were repeated in Alcalá, Seville, Valencia, and in other large towns of Spain.

Our Mother the Church sums up in a single phrase in the Breviary Lessons, these three works of zeal of St. Ignatius : *Catechismi traditio, concionum ac sacramentorum frequentia ab ipso incrementum accepere.* We have already spoken of the first two : it only remains to add that as a result of these there was noticeable in the Church a most happy growth in the frequenting of the Sacraments. For St. Ignatius wished to bring all men near to Christ, to place all hearts in intimate contact and communion with the Heart of Jesus, and with this end in view he laboured to the utmost to bring back this custom, which at that period was so much neglected.

To-day we have no idea of the lamentable condition to which the faithful were reduced in this matter. Confession and Communion were looked on as a kind of penance, or a form of austerity, which had to be offered to God once a year, towards the end of Lent. In 1542 the practice of St. Francis Borgia, Viceroy of Catalonia, of confessing and receiving Holy Communion every week, aroused such opposition that a certain person went so far as to attack it even from the pulpit. In 1547, when the family of the Viceroy of Sicily, Juan de Viga, began, under the direction of Fr. Jerónimo Doménech, to receive the Sacraments once a fortnight, there was general amazement, even consternation, throughout the island.

Our Father St. Ignatius reacted with all his might against such deplorable indifference. One of the first practices he imposed upon his companions, and on

those who came to him for direction, was Confession and Communion on fixed days, and with devout preparation. At the end of the *Exercises*, among the rules for thinking with the Church, he put the following: 'To praise Confession and Communion made once a year, much more if made every month, and much more if made every week, with the necessary and fitting dispositions.' He did not counsel a more frequent reception of the Sacraments, because in his days it was not possible; but, in particular cases, he did not hesitate to recommend daily Communion—as, for instance, in the case of the devout lady, Teresa Rejadella, whom he advised to receive Holy Communion every day.[1]

By reason of his desire to draw hearts to Christ in the Blessed Sacrament, St. Ignatius never let pass any opportunity of begging the Holy See to grant Jubilees, which in the days of lively faith were received with extraordinary fervour. For example, witness the scenes which accompanied the Jubilee at Tripoli, which the Saint obtained for the Spanish army fighting against Dragut in 1550. Fr. Laínez, who promulgated it among the soldiers, writes: 'Such is the devotion and joy with which it has been received by all, that I believe our Saviour will be glorified greatly thereby. We are busy in our confessionals for two, three, or six hours far into the night, and before the break of day we are again at our post. All, big and small, come to confession, and many reform.' In fact, St. Ignatius and his companions distinguished themselves by an exercise of charity which deserves notice—they stayed

[1] The letter he wrote her on the point on November 15, 1543, merits attention. Cf. *Monumenta Ignatiana*, Ser. I, t. 1, p. 275.

long hours in the confessional, never wearying of hearing the confessions of the faithful. In opening a house or college, a chief care of the Saint was to offer to the faithful all possible opportunities for going to Confession and receiving Holy Communion.

As a result there was always grouped around our houses a large number of devout people, who frequented the Sacraments, and led a life of Christian virtue. This fact which, even during the life of St. Ignatius, had agreeably surprised St. Thomas of Villanova, later aroused the admiration of B. John de Ribera, who was, as is well known, the devout apostle of the Blessed Sacrament. This holy prelate, who was contemporary with the first half century of the life of the Society, considered, as one of the greatest benefits given to the world by this religious order, 'such a wonderful reform of morals, such a frequenting of the Holy Sacraments; in the time of our forefathers, yearly Holy Communion was the rule with many, and then, moreover, this was accompanied with so little devotion and preparation; but now, in the centres where the Society exists, there is so frequent a use of the Sacraments, among those who lead a life of devotion and prayer.' These were the words spoken by that model bishop in one of his sermons; they clearly express his opinion, and give proof of the happy results of St. Ignatius' efforts in this direction.

However, it must be admitted that this good work was common to our Father and the other Saints who flourished at that time. The peculiar, unique, and characteristic contribution of Ignatius was the *Spiritual Exercises*, a work certainly inspired by God, by which the solitary of Manresa first of all sanctified

himself, and then gave to God such marvellous sons as St. Francis Xavier, B. Peter Faber, Fr. Laínez, Fr. Nadal, and very many others. The book of the *Exercises* is directed not only to the conversion of the sinner—though it begins with this—but also to the radical transformation of a man, to bring him not merely to the state of grace, but to the heroism of virtue. The practice of the *Exercises*, quietly set on foot in the sixteenth century, has spread itself more and more in the Church, and to-day they are given yearly by the hundred to an immense number of persons of every class. And what is even more remarkable is the fact that the Church, in her new Code of Canon Law, has imposed the obligation of making the *Exercises* at fixed periods, not only on religious, but also on the secular clergy, on candidates for Orders, seminarists, and other persons. We must admit, however, that what the *Exercises* have gained in extension they have, in some cases, lost in intensity, and that many *Exercises* which are given in our time are curtailed, and therefore less efficacious. But, with all that, it remains true that the *Exercises* are the means of obtaining the most profound conversions, the most wonderful changes in the moral order. Would that God should inspire some man of energy with the idea of writing the history of this most salutary practice, and of compiling some statistics, if only approximate, of those who have made the *Exercises*. With such a history before us, we should realize the truth of the words written by St. Ignatius to Fr. Manuel Miona, that the *Exercises* 'are the best means that I could think of, experience, or employ for the sanctification of oneself, or for the help of another in the work of sanctification.'

The originality of St. Ignatius is also seen in the idea of the consecration of religious to the education and instruction of youth. In the Church of God, teaching had always had its place, and Christ's command, 'Teach the world,' had always been obeyed. In the ancient cathedrals, in the abbeys of the Middle Ages, there was uninterrupted instruction of the faithful in the mysteries of faith and the practice of Christian virtue. But these ancient institutions were not destined primarily for the imparting of instruction. The cathedrals were built for the singing of the praises of God and the celebration of the Divine Mysteries : the abbeys were founded for the sanctification of the monks who shut themselves up in their sacred enclosures. St. Ignatius was the first to introduce, as a proper work for religious, the education of the young, and the erection of colleges—that is, buildings primarily devoted to this purpose. These colleges were to provide not only religious and moral instruction, such as was given from the church pulpits, but also every kind of knowledge which could promote the real culture and elevation of man.

This innovation of our Father was most timely, as is sufficiently witnessed by the zeal with which Religious Orders and Congregations after him have devoted themselves, in one way or another, to the education of youth. Even the ancient Orders have followed the lead given by St. Ignatius, and in our days, to the great joy of the Church and the spiritual good of souls, have opened teaching establishments. So universal indeed is the recognition of what is owed to the Society in this matter that, in the minds of many, the chief glory of the Society lies in its being an excellent educator of

youth. The whole of Europe, certainly, in the sixteenth century, gave evidence of this feeling when so many places begged for colleges of the Society. Fr. Acquaviva stated that during the first twelve years of his office as General (1581-1592) outside the colleges which had been accepted, 150 had been refused, as he had not enough subjects to satisfy all demands. If, on the other hand, one remembers the immense number of students who flocked to these colleges—a thousand in Seville, twelve hundred in Monterey—one realizes then the enormous influence for good which the Church owes to this innovation of St. Ignatius.

Another innovation characteristic of St. Ignatius was the consecration of the Society in a peculiar manner to the obedience of the Supreme Pontiff and the defence of his rights. The unparalleled storm which the Holy See had to face in the sixteenth century is well known to all. Luther and his followers directed all their attacks against the Pope's authority, which had never been in such jeopardy as it was in that dreadful cataclysm which separated the North of Europe from Rome. In such critical circumstances the foundation of an Order to defend in a special manner the Holy See, and to rouse again in the Christian people the sentiments of love and obedience due to the Vicar of Christ, was a work supremely opportune.

Mention must also be made of the foundation by St. Ignatius of institutions to preserve the chastity of young girls, of houses and institutions for catechumens, the reform of convents of women, the reconciliation of princes, the ransoming of prisoners—but the discussion of such activities would not be possible

in a Short Life. We must be content to conclude by saying that the work of our holy Founder for the reform of the Church fills us with profound amazement, all done in silence, humbly, with no fiery speeches, no pungent satire, no personal invective, almost without mention of those evils of society which he understood so well. Read the twelve volumes of his published letters and you will not find the slightest trace of a scolding tone. St. Ignatius was all deeds, not words, and in them, as being of God, gentleness and strength were harmonized in a marvellous manner. His principle of action in the sanctification of the world can be stated in the following formula : much prayer, much good sense, much patience, but especially much courage and perseverance.

CHAPTER XI

ST. IGNATIUS AND THE FOREIGN MISSIONS

THE period during which the conversion of St. Ignatius took place was a very marked—even a unique—epoch in the history of mankind. Christopher Columbus had discovered a New World in the West, Vasco de Gama had opened the passage to the East. The world, confined till then to the shores of the Mediterranean, was extending its horizon in every direction. Countless peoples came to be known in various parts of the world, buried in the darkness of error and looking for the coming of the preachers of the Gospel to spread the light of Faith and regenerate them in the waters of Baptism. It was at that time above all that men felt the necessity of obeying Christ's command, *Euntes docete omnes gentes.*

All generous souls heard that voice within them, but of St. Ignatius this was true in a very special manner. After his vision on the banks of the Cardoner, his mind had been fixed on the conversion of the pagan world. As a pilgrim to Jerusalem, his first impulse had been to remain in that country, and to sacrifice his life in the conversion of Mussulmans and other infidels. That, however, was not the design of Providence. God had chosen him to be, not a simple missionary, but the father and leader of missionaries. It was for this that he placed him in the very centre of

Christendom, where he could collect his forces and launch them to the attack for the spiritual conquest of the infidel world.

In the formula of the Institute presented to Paul III, and textually reproduced in the first Bull confirming the Society, St. Ignatius, in the explanation of the fourth vow of obedience to the Pope, made by the professed, lays it down that the first and principal object of that vow is mission-work among infidels. He writes: 'To whatever part of the world the Supreme Pontiff desires to send us, we on our part are obliged to obey instantly, without tergiversation, without excuse, whether they send us to the Turks or to any other infidels, even to those who dwell in the regions called the Indies, or to heretics or schismatics, or anywhere among the faithful.' The self-same words were inserted in the Bull of Julius III.

God soon provided an opportunity for putting this vow into practice. In the same year, 1540, even before the Society had been approved, the King of Portugal, John III, through Pedro Mascarenhas, his ambassador in Rome, begged of St. Ignatius for six Fathers to preach the Gospel in the East Indies. Six were few for such a vast territory, but many considering the small army which our Father then commanded. Although two of the first ten Fathers were set aside for that mission, eventually only one of them could leave for the Indies. But that one was equal to a thousand; he was to be the unrivalled pattern of all missionaries, and the means of awakening throughout the whole world innumerable vocations to the apostolic life. On April 7, 1541, St. Francis Xavier embarked at Lisbon, and after a trying voyage of thirteen months

landed at Goa on May 6, 1542. He employed his first five months teaching the catechism to children in the capital, visiting the prisons and hospitals, and converting many sinners to the Christian life. In the October of that year he went forth to sow the word of God on the Fishery Coast, and thus within two years of its foundation the Society began to preach the Gospel to the infidel.

We shall not describe the apostolic labours of Xavier on the Fishery Coast. Of the celebrated letter which he wrote to the Fathers in Rome on January 12, 1544, it could without exaggeration be said that it made the circuit of the world. It was the first account of our missionary activities received in Rome, and the unique character of the narrative, the distance of the countries in question, the marvellous results of the preaching of the Gospel, which were evident even from this slight account, aroused feelings of grateful astonishment in all good men in Europe. At first in its original language, and then translated into Latin, this letter travelled the length and breadth of Christendom, arousing apostolic zeal and bringing numerous vocations to the Society of Jesus. This letter brought Fr. Jerome Nadal into the Society. Fr. Araoz is alluding to it when he narrates the curious fact that Cardinal Tavera, Archbishop of Toledo, 'had the whole letter of our brother, Master Francis Xavier, read to him, and was much pleased with it, as have been also many in these parts, so that he has reaped no less fruit in Spain and Portugal with his letter than he has in the Indies with his teaching.'

In the three years, 1542 to 1545, Xavier evangelized the region along the West Coast of India, from Goa

to Cape Comorin, penetrated into the mainland, and preached even in the island of Ceylon, and in some towns in the East of India. In the second half of 1545 he journeyed to Malacca, another of the great Portuguese markets in the Far East, where for several months he repeated the career of apostolic zeal and Christian fervour which marked his first arrival at Goa. The years 1546 and 1547 were passed in continual journeyings: it was then that he made the excursion to the Moluccas, evangelized the islands of Moro, and very probably touched at the island of Mindanao; hence the ancient province of the Philippines used to look on him as its special patron. He returned to Malacca towards the end of 1547, and there met a band of missionaries sent out to him from Portugal. With their welcome help he was able to establish houses of the Society in the most important centres of his mission, e.g. Goa, Cochin, Malacca, Ternate, etc.

While Xavier was laying the foundation of our missions in the East, a beginning was made of two apostolic works in Africa which produced positive results in good of souls, even if a permanent footing could not be obtained there. The first of these was the expedition to the Congo. At the end of 1547, Fr. Diego Diaz, Jorge Alvarez, and Cristóbal Ribeiro, with the brother coadjutor Diego Loveral, were sent out. Arriving at their destination at the beginning of 1548, they were well received by the King of the Congo, and helped by the Portuguese, whose influence was predominant in those parts. For a year they helped the Portuguese with the Sacraments, and through interpreters preached as best they could to the infidels. Their efforts were not in vain, for many natives

received the gift of faith, and were baptized. But the difficulty of life in that country, and the ravages of the climate, which ruined the health of the missionaries, made it impossible at that time to set up a fixed residence of the Society. The same happened at Tetuan whither several Jesuits went to ransom some slaves. They did, in fact, rescue some of them, and what is more, consoled and helped many others with their teaching, and with the alms they distributed among the poor outcasts, but they could not open any residence. Having made a tour of charity through the miserable prisons of the slaves, they returned to Portugal. Later, similar expeditions were several times sent out, always with good results, but the missionaries could not make their permanent abode in that country.

However, in Brazil and in Japan, the Society laid deep the foundations of its two great missions which were begun in 1549. On February 1, in company with Tomas de Sosa, who had been made Governor of Brazil, Frs. Manuel de Nóbregas, a Portuguese, and Juan de Azpilcueta, a Navarrese, with four companions, embarked at Lisbon. They reached their destination after a voyage of fifty-six days. Finding that large communities of Indians had grouped themselves around the Portuguese settlements, they devoted their zealous efforts to the spiritual help of these unfortunate peoples. Fr. Polanco gives us a curious piece of information. He says that Fr. Azpilcueta learned the language of these natives in a few days, because it was very similar to Basque, his own tongue. We leave the discussion of this question to philologists ; but we must add that the Jesuits had to labour and suffer

much in order to extirpate certain barbarous practices, especially cannibalism, from among the natives. With the help of other missionaries who were sent out from Portugal, this mission progressed from day to day, and in 1553 our Father, St. Ignatius, set up the province of Brazil.

But even greater success eventually was won in the mission of Japan, founded by St. Francis Xavier in 1549. By a providential meeting he became acquainted in Malacca with a Japanese named Angero, and coming to understand from the latter's account the character and customs of that singular people, he conceived the idea of bringing them the light of the Gospel. He took the Japanese with him to Goa, instructed and baptized him, giving him the name of Paul of the Holy Faith. A year later he left for Japan, taking as his companion Fr. Cosme de Torres and a brother-coadjutor, Juan Fernández: Paul was to act as interpreter. The four of them disembarked on the Feast of the Assumption, August 15, 1549, at Kagoshima. We shall not describe the brilliant apostolic career of Xavier during the two full years in which he evangelized Japan. His bold journeyings, his incredible privations, his disputations with the Bonzes, his fervent preaching, his wonderful miracles, would provide abundant material for an extended narrative, and would take us outside the limits of the present Short Life. Suffice it to say that he penetrated as far as Meaco, at that time the most important city of Japan, and that he left Christian centres solidly established in the southern parts of the kingdom.

St. Ignatius meanwhile, though consoled by the happy results of the missions in the East, was at the

same time anxious to set up permanent apostolic work and houses of the Society in those distant lands. He therefore deemed it advisable to call Xavier to Rome, to confer personally with him about such important undertakings. On June 20, 1553, he sent him a letter, which is still in existence, encouraging him to undertake the journey to Rome. Fr. Nadal tells us that the idea got abroad among his fellow-Jesuits that St. Ignatius was recalling him to make him General of the Society. This rumour, repeated in several histories, seems to us entirely devoid of probability. In point of fact, the reason of the recall of the Apostle of the Indies is clearly stated in the letter of St. Ignatius : he desired to have the fullest information about these very distant regions, to understand thoroughly the conditions of the country and the spiritual needs of the people. He intended to communicate this knowledge to the Supreme Pontiff and to the King of Portugal, in order to take the proper steps, in conjunction with both these powers, for the spread of the faith and for the good government of the Society. It was for these most prudent reasons that he recalled Xavier. The plan of St. Ignatius failed, for when he wrote this letter in Rome, the Apostle of the Indies had already died in the Lord, on December 2, 1552.

In the last years of his life our Father undertook another most important matter. Ever since 1546, John III had been asking for a Jesuit expedition to Ethiopia, and St. Ignatius had set his eyes on Fr. Paschase Broet to lead this mission. For reasons which it would take too long to detail here, the affair was put off from year to year, until in 1554 it was seriously taken in hand. A friendly agreement was reached

between Julius III, the King of Portugal, and our holy Founder, and an excellent expedition consisting of twelve missionaries was prepared for Ethiopia, or, as it was then named, the Kingdom of Prester John. This mission stood out from among all those which preceded it, in the singular fact that the three chief missionaries had been made Bishops. The Superior, Fr. Juan Núñez Barreto, a Portuguese, was made Patriarch of Ethiopia by Julius III, and his suffragans were Fr. Andrés de Oviedo, Bishop of Hierapolis, and Fr. Melchior Carnero, Bishop of Nicea. The expedition left Portugal in 1555, but before it could establish itself in Ethiopia, St. Ignatius died. Of the three Bishops, only Fr. Oviedo was able to penetrate to the Ethiopians and begin a mission which, at the outset, was so full of difficulty, but in the seventeenth century gave abundant spiritual fruit, although always at the price of countless sufferings and trials.

While this Ethiopian expedition was being prepared, great enthusiasm was being displayed for another mission in the territories of Tripoli and Tunis. Fr. Laínez in 1550, and Fr. Nadal a year later, had already set foot in these countries ; but the work of these Fathers had been not so much to preach to the pagans as to act as chaplains in the Spanish army. Now, there was question of sending a real mission for the conversion of the Mussulmans. St. Ignatius himself, though now an old man and broken with infirmities, wished to cross over to Africa, and sacrifice his life in so difficult an enterprise. But God was satisfied with his desires, and the mission to Tripoli remained for a time nothing more than an idea. Nor was it possible to realize the plan for the introduction of the Society into the

Spanish Indies, although during the life of our Founder invitations began to come from the other side of the Atlantic. This work was reserved by God for St. Francis Borgia, who in 1556 founded the province of Perú, and in 1572 that of Mexico. Meanwhile, we must admire the large mind of St. Ignatius, who with such meagre resources at his disposal was able to extend his influence from Japan to Brazil, and left magnificent undertakings well-established in the three continents of Asia, Africa, and America.

CHAPTER XII

ST. IGNATIUS AND THE FIGHT AGAINST HERESY

POPE URBAN VIII,[1] in the Bull of canonization of St. Ignatius, notes that it was precisely when new pagan nations were discovered in the East and in the West, and when that dreadful portent (*monstrum teterrimum*), Martin Luther, began in the North of Europe to corrupt religion with his blasphemous teaching, and to rouse the peoples against the Holy See, that the ineffable mercy and goodness of God raised up a man with the spirit of St. Ignatius, who, abandoning the service of an earthly king, enrolled himself beneath the banner of Christ, and founded a new religious order, the Society of Jesus, whose chief aim was the preaching of the Gospel to infidels, the bringing back of heretics to the bosom of Holy Church, and the strenuous defence of the authority of the Holy See. We find the same idea in the Breviary Lessons, and it is so usual for Catholics to look on St. Ignatius as the man set up by God to oppose Protestantism, that some have pushed the idea to an exaggerated extent, which it seems good to correct. According to these latter, St. Ignatius and all his labours form a compact whole, or rather an engine of war wholly

[1] It was Pope Gregory XV who canonized St. Ignatius; but he died shortly before the publication of the Bull, which therefore was issued under the name of his successor, Urban VIII.

directed against Luther and his followers; they describe Ignatius, even at Manresa, as planning out the *Exercises* and sharpening his weapons against the new heretics. That is an exaggeration.

What is true is that our holy Founder, more than any other, set himself to stem the Protestant avalanche, and is considered by these heretics and Rationalists as the chief representative of the party called the Counter-reform; but this was the final work of his life, when he had already seen the foundations of the Society well-laid. What clearly emerges from the whole course of events is that, before thinking of the fight against Protestants, St. Ignatius had in his mind the reform of morals among Catholics, and the propagation of the Faith among infidels. It was only later that his attention was directed towards the North. With the sagacity and prudence so characteristic of him, our Founder thoroughly understood the terrible destruction of faith which had been wrought there, and he devoted himself to remedying these evils as he knew how, i.e. with efficacious means and without tumult.

The first weapon he employed was preaching—not so much public preaching in large churches and cathedrals, as opportune advice, and intercourse with ecclesiastical and secular princes and other men of influence. This apostolic activity, which did not fail to produce its effect in these countries, deserves our attention. It was no longer possible in Germany to act on the body of the people, and obtain those conversions *en masse*, which Laínez gained in Florence, Bobadilla at Bisignano, Araoz at Valladolid, and Estrada in Portugal. Faith was very much weakened in German territories, the people were divided into

Protestants and Catholics, the minds of men were gravely disturbed by doubts on various points of dogma. Consequently, it was impossible to exercise the ministry of preaching with the same liberty and security as in Spain, where the preacher had before him a homogeneous audience which thoroughly believed in all the doctrines of Faith. In Germany, it was necessary to sweep away doubts, to remove prejudices, to soothe troubled minds, and so by degrees to open the way to Catholic truth.

Of the first ten Fathers, three dedicated themselves to this hidden, but fruitful work—B. Peter Faber, Fr. Nicholas Bobadilla, and Fr. Claude le Jay. By mixing with the Princes and Lords in the German Diet, by disputations with the Doctors of the Universities, by assisting prelates and their chapters in questions of doctrine, our Fathers succeeded in instructing those who had been led astray, in strengthening those who were wavering, in warning the simple against the calumnies and errors of the heretics, and especially (a thing of the highest importance in Germany) in upholding the authority of the Supreme Pontiff, so violently attacked by Luther. These Fathers did much good in the different towns of Germany, and in 1554, so Polanco tells us, Divine Providence seems to have made use of B. Peter Faber to keep firm in the Faith the University and clergy of Cologne, and many thought that, had it not been for the zeal and prudence of the illustrious Jesuit, the town would have been lost.

Even more, however, than the three Fathers named, St. Peter Canisius, the first German Jesuit, distinguished himself in this special mission. He entered the

Society in 1543, after making the *Exercises* under B. Peter Faber. He was not yet a priest, but soon, having completed his theological studies, he received sacred orders, and after 1545 began to prove himself the most zealous champion of the Catholic Church in Germany. It would take long to narrate the very varied apostolic labours in which he exercised his zeal as Provincial of the Society, as catechist, as preacher, as assistant of Bishops and Papal Legates, as, in short, the very soul of the whole Catholic movement which developed in the North of Europe. Just as the name of Xavier stands for the preaching of the Gospel among infidels, so the name of Canisius recalls the struggle against the Protestants.

But Ignatius was not satisfied with sending catechists and apostolic preachers to the North: he took steps to ensure the permanent establishment of the Society in those lands. We cannot state with certainty that, from the beginning, he traced out the entire scheme of the foundations which eventually were made; but it is the fact that he knew how to take possession of what we may call strategic positions, opening important teaching centres in four of the most famous and influential cities in Germany—at Cologne, an ecclesiastical see of as great importance then as it is to-day; at Ingolstadt, the great university city of Bavaria; at Vienna, the residence of the Emperor; at Prague, the capital of Bohemia. From these four centres the Jesuits spread to other cities of less importance; and before his death, St. Ignatius had the consolation of seeing the Province of Germany set up, with St. Peter Canisius as its first Provincial.

In those colleges the first care of the Jesuits was to

discipline the students, so wild and out of hand in those days, especially in Germany, to instruct them in the truths of faith, and arm them beforehand against the sophisms of heresy, and to give them such useful education as the scientific and literary culture of the day provided. With their eyes ever fixed on the preservation of the people from heresy, they took up, not only in the colleges, but also in the pulpits of the churches and in university chairs, a spiritual ministry which has since fallen into disuse, and which we are now beginning to revive in Spain—sacred readings, or popular explanations of the Sacred Scripture. Those who are acquainted with Luther's deplorable abuse of certain books of Scripture to bolster up his errors, can easily understand the lively interest with which the public crowded to the lecture halls and churches of the Jesuits, to learn the Catholic interpretation of the sacred text, and to witness the triumphant refutation of the sophisms spread abroad by the heretics. In a short time, so beneficial was the result of the work of the Jesuit colleges in the North, that in 1563 the Count de Luna, Spanish ambassador at the Council of Trent, stated it publicly as his considered opinion, with which many Bishops agreed, that the best method of conquering Germany, and reuniting her with the Catholic Church, would be to multiply in the country the colleges of the Society of Jesus.

As we are speaking of colleges, we must devote a few lines to the most characteristic and most useful of them all—the German college founded in Rome in 1552. In the middle of the sixteenth century, all good men were deploring the unprecedented havoc wrought by Luther's heresy in the faith and moral character of

Germany. But what especially grieved those who were most conversant with the facts, was that a great part of the evil was due to the ignorance and corruption of the clergy. Many religious, and secular priests, fell away and helped to swell the ranks of the heretics; on the other hand, vocations to the ecclesiastical state became fewer and fewer, and in some dioceses practically nobody came forward for Sacred Orders. Hence it was that, after thirty years of religious revolution, the scarcity of clergy had reached such a pitch that in as many as 1,500 parishes in Germany there were no priests at all. What would be the fate of the Church in Germany under such conditions? What remedy could repair such a fearful disaster?

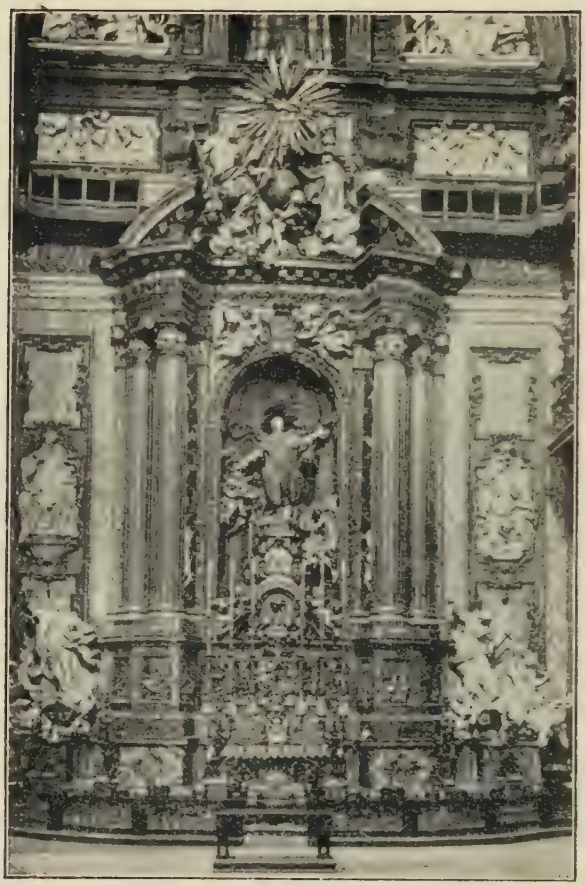
The illustrious Cardinal Morone, who had visited certain parts of Germany as Apostolic Delegate, conceived the idea that a radical remedy for such a situation would be found in the formation of a virtuous and learned Catholic clergy. By educating German boys of good disposition in some college which was above suspicion, it would be possible to secure a worthy priesthood to act as a leaven for the regeneration of the Church in those lands. Speaking one day with St. Ignatius, who was a great friend of his, he told him in confidence of his idea. Our Father, who, in the last years of his life, ever kept his gaze fixed on Germany, searching for some remedy for its ills, fully entered into the ideas of the Cardinal. The formation of the Catholic clergy in Germany was to be the beginning of its regeneration. But where could a college for this purpose be opened? Not in the German States, on account of the religious revolutions there. The most natural thing, suggested Morone,

would be to found it in Rome, and St. Ignatius could take on the direction of the work. Our holy Father offered himself entirely, and with all his heart, for the carrying out of the plan.

Both of them were in agreement on the broad lines of the Institution, and they informed several Cardinals of their ideas; all signified their approval—but especially the three Spanish Cardinals who were then in Rome—Alvarez of Toledo, Pacheco, and la Cuéva. Certain of the support of such illustrious personages, they disclosed the scheme of the foundation to Julius III, who received the proposal very favourably, and entrusted the execution of it to Ignatius.

At the outset of the negotiations, St. Ignatius declared that the Society would take responsibility only for the scientific and religious education of the students, and that the question of support and temporal administration must be confided to other trustworthy people. These conditions were accepted; but it soon became evident that little or nothing was being done on the side of temporals, and that first enthusiasms were cooling. This convinced St. Ignatius that, unless he took the whole affair into his own hands, nothing would be done. Having accepted, therefore, the temporal administration also, he began to think out plans for collecting the necessary funds for the opening of the college. It seemed to him the most obvious thing that the Pope and the Cardinals should give the undertaking a start, by assigning some rents for the sustenance of the students, and that later on, the Emperor, and other rich and pious personages in Germany, should be approached for their alms.

He therefore had a beautiful and artistic parchment



ALTAR OF ST. IGNATIUS IN THE GESÙ, ROME

[*to face p. 105*

prepared for framing, with the name of Julius III in the centre. Around His Holiness's name, and forming as it were a crown, appeared the names of the thirty-two Cardinals then living in Rome. The Saint then besought the Supreme Pontiff to deign to make known the annual sum which he would give for the support of the German college. The Pope promised 500 scudi a year. St. Ignatius then had that figure inscribed under the name of Julius III. This done, the artistic parchment was sent round to each of the Cardinals separately, and they were invited to follow the example of the common Father of the faithful. All accepted the invitation : some promised 100, some 50, and some as much as 200 : each, in short, promised some annual support for the students.

Having thus collected a presentable sum of money, St. Ignatius hired a house near the Roman college, and asked His Holiness to erect canonically the German college. Julius III gladly consented, and on August 31, 1552, by his Bull, *Dum sollicita*, erected the pious institution, and placed it under the protection of the Apostolic See. Ignatius named as rector of the future college Fr. Andrés Frusio, a Frenchman, a man in whom were wonderfully combined solid religious virtues, and the highest culture of the Renaissance. A little later, in order to give the Institution fitting publicity, a literary ' Act ' was arranged, and took place on October 28. In the presence of eight Cardinals, of many Bishops, and of other ecclesiastical and secular persons of importance, Fr. Peter Ribadeneira, then a youth of twenty-six, declaimed a long and elegant Latin discourse, explaining the purpose of the Supreme Pontiff, and of the Society of Jesus, in

establishing the Institution for the restoration of the Catholic spirit in Germany. The young orator was warmly applauded.

Meanwhile St. Ignatius had written to St. Peter Canisius and the other Superiors of Germany, explaining the purpose of the college and telling them to select youths of good parts, who aspired to the priesthood, to be educated in Rome. He also indicated the qualities requisite in the candidates. They should be youths of piety, of good breeding, of pleasing appearance, and well-instructed in letters : their age, therefore, must be between sixteen and twenty-one. They were to pursue their ecclesiastical studies in the Roman college. At first, there was difficulty in finding such candidates, as Rome held no attractions for the German youth of that day. However, our Fathers in the North succeeded in collecting a body of twenty youths, who entered the Eternal City on November 19, 1552. St. Ignatius received the newcomers with great kindness, and lodged them in the modest house hired by him for their use. This was the beginning of the German college ; after two years the numbers rose to fifty, and in succeeding years it proved the training-ground of notable prelates, eloquent preachers, zealous parish priests, and martyrs, who revivified faith and good morals in the North.

In the last year of his life St. Ignatius was thinking out another project, but had not time enough to carry it through. Fr. Nadal, in 1555, visited the various colleges in Germany : he was deeply distressed at the sight of the torrent of evil books which the heretics were pouring out on all sides. He pointed out to St. Ignatius the necessity of a remedy for this evil, and

suggested the idea of forming a college of specialist writers to refute the arguments of the Protestants. St. Ignatius was fully alive to the need of the writing of good books, and had arranged that Frs. Laínez, Frusio, and others should employ their talents in this noble work. To form a college of controversialists, to establish a centre of Catholic propaganda for a good Press, was clearly a work most suited to the organizing genius of St. Ignatius ; but it was cut short by death. In this, as in other matters, he was not able to bring to fruition all that his supremely practical talent suggested, or his large heart desired.

CHAPTER XIII

DEATH OF ST. IGNATIUS

IN the midst of such important and complicated undertakings for the service of God, his mind ever bent on the promotion of his greater glory, our Father, St. Ignatius, reached the year 1556, and the age of sixty-five. His health had latterly grown much worse. In 1550 he had suffered from a serious illness which brought him to the point of death. His death at that time would have been a calamity, as the last six years of his life were most fruitful in magnificent enterprises. He recovered indeed, but slowly, and his health henceforward was shattered.

In October 1554, feeling the need of assistance in the government of the Society, he named Fr. Jerome Nadal Vicar-General. Often during his last two years, weakness prevented him from saying Mass. At these times, seated on a chair, he used to hear the Mass of another Father, receive Holy Communion at his hands, and remain for one or two hours in prayer, before giving himself up to the occupations of his office. It is not surprising that death took him easily when in such a condition: the slightest breath, so to say, was enough to extinguish the lamp that burned so low.

His secretary, Fr. Polanco, writing to Fr. Ribadeneira, describes his death in the following terms:

'This present is to inform Your Reverence, and all the brethren who are under your obedience, that God Our Saviour has wished to take from us, and to call to Himself, our beloved Father, Master Ignatius, on the morning of Friday, July 31, the vigil of St. Peter *in Vinculis*. Loosening the bonds that kept him in his mortal flesh, and calling him to the freedom of His elect, He has decreed at last to give heed to the desires of His blessed servant, who, while supporting with great patience and fortitude the labours of his pilgrimage on earth, nevertheless, for these many years, wished most earnestly to go to enjoy the vision of his Creator and Lord, and glorify Him in his heavenly home. Divine Providence has left him to us up to this time, so that by his example, his prudence, his authority and his prayers the work of this "smallest Society" might be furthered, as it was by him begun. And now that its roots seemed to be sufficiently strong to ensure its growth and increase, and its fruits are visible in so many parts of the world, He has taken him to heaven, that so much the more abundant an effusion of grace may fall upon us as he is the more closely united with the fullness of grace and of all good.

'In this house and college, although we cannot but feel the privation of the loving presence of such a Father, this feeling is without sorrow, our tears are tears of devotion, and the sense of our loss brings with it an increase of hope and of spiritual joy. It really seems as if, for his own sake, it was time for his continued labours to end in true repose, his infirmities in true health, and his tears and ceaseless sufferings in peace and eternal happiness. On our part, not only

do we not consider that we have lost him, but now, more than ever, we hope to be helped by his burning charity, viz., that through his intercession the Divine Mercy will increase the spirit, the numbers, and the foundations of our Society, for the universal good of the Church.

'Your Reverence will doubtless wish to learn some particulars of his passage to eternal glory. It happened with marvellous serenity: his agony lasted less than one hour from the time that we realized that he was going to die. We had several people ill in the house, and among many others Fr. Master Laínez, Fr. Juán de Mendoza, and some other serious cases, and our Father was himself indisposed: he had had a little fever for four or five days, but it was not clear that it was on him still, although he felt somewhat weak, as had often been the case before. And so, on Wednesday, he called me, and ordered me to tell Doctor Torres, who was looking after the other sick, to take charge of him also. As we had not considered his illness serious, we had bestowed more care on the others than on Ignatius. He took charge of him: and another great doctor—a friend of ours (Master Alexander)—also visited him every day. The following Thursday he called me at four in the afternoon, and getting the brother infirmarian to leave the sick-room, told me it would be well if I went to St. Peter's and had word sent to His Holiness that he was very ill and with no hope—or practically no hope—of life; and that he therefore humbly besought His Holiness to give his blessing to himself and to Master Laínez, who also was in danger of death; and that, if God our Lord gave them the grace of calling them to heaven, they

would pray for His Holiness, as they were accustomed to do every day on earth. I replied: "Father, the doctors believe there is no danger in this sickness, and I, for my part, hope that God will preserve Your Reverence to us some years more for his service. Does Your Reverence really feel as ill as that?" He said: "I am in such a state that nothing remains but to draw my last breath" (or words to that effect). I explained to him that I had still hope for his recovery —as indeed I had, but would nevertheless do as he ordered: I merely asked whether I could put it off till Friday, as I was engaged in writing a letter for Spain, by way of Genoa, and the post was leaving punctually on Thursday. He replied: "I should prefer you to do it to-day rather than to-morrow, and the sooner you do it the better I should be pleased; but have it as you will, I place myself entirely in your hands."

'In order to be able to say that, according to the doctors, there was real danger (if they thought so), I asked the chief of them, Master Alexander, on that same afternoon to say plainly if our Father was in danger, and told him of the message he had given me for the Pope. He said: "To-day I cannot say definitely: I will tell you to-morrow." With this, and because the Father had left everything to my decision, I decided, acting on human probabilities, that I could wait till Friday to hear what the doctors had to say. On the same Thursday, Dr. Madrid and myself were present in the evening, while our Father was taking his supper: he took a fair meal, considering what he was accustomed to take, and then conversed with us so calmly that I went with a quiet mind to bed, not suspecting any danger in his illness.

'The next morning at sunrise I found him *in extremis*: so I flew to St. Peter's, and the Pope, who was overcome with grief, gave his blessing and all that his apostolic power could bestow, with sentiments of the greatest affection. And so, less than two hours after sunrise, in the presence of Dr. Madrid and Master Andrés de Frusio, he placidly rendered up his soul to his Creator and Lord. . . .

'Our Father having passed from this life, it seemed advisable, in order to preserve the body, to cut out the internal organs, and to embalm the body to some extent. This was the occasion of great astonishment and edification: they found the stomach and all the intestines absolutely empty and constricted, and hence the experts in this matter inferred his great abstinence in the past, and his great determination and courage in working on so serenely and so joyfully, in such a state of weakness. His liver contained three hard stones—caused likewise by his abstinence, which had brought about this hardening of the organ. It seemed to me that what the good old man, Don Diego de Eguia (now dead) used to say was true, viz., that for a long time our Father lived simply by a miracle, for with such a disease he could not have lived in the ordinary course of nature: but God our Saviour, as he was then necessary for the Society, kept him alive, supplying the deficiencies of his bodily organs. We kept the sainted body till after Vespers on Saturday. The crowd of people, and their devotion, was wonderful, although we kept him in the same place where he died. Some kissed his hands, others his feet, others touched his body with their rosaries. And we had much difficulty in resisting the importunity of those who wanted

a piece of his biretta or clothes, or seized laces, night-caps, or other things of his; but we did not give anything to those who asked, nor willingly permit anything to be taken. Also, several portraits of him were made—painted or sculptured: a thing he never permitted in his life, although many asked his leave.'

We will conclude this Short Life of St. Ignatius with two portraits—one of his physical appearance, the other of the man himself—drawn by two writers, who indeed were widely separated in time, but closely united in their love of our holy Father. Fr. Ribadeneira thus describes the appearance and physical characteristics of St. Ignatius: 'He was of medium height, or, more accurately, somewhat below the average, with a small frame, although his brothers were tall, and well formed. His countenance commanded respect, his forehead was high and without wrinkles, his eyes deep-set, the eyelids puckered and wrinkled with his many tears, the ears of medium size, the nose high and curved, a somewhat ruddy complexion, his head bald, and his whole aspect venerable. His appearance was joyfully grave and gravely joyful, so that his serenity rejoiced those who looked on him, while his gravity impressed all about him.'

The character of our Father is described with a master's touch by Fr. Juán José de la Torre, in his introduction to the *Letters of St. Ignatius*, the publication of which began in 1874. Let us listen to this Father, who was steeped, as few others are, in all matters Ignatian: 'Quiet and simple, but not slovenly; most humble, without any meanness of spirit; noble and generous, grave and courteous, superior to all that is earthly, despising what is perishable, his gaze always

fixed on what will remain for ever unchanged, guiding himself in all things, great or small, by the most perfect standards; master of all his feelings, even in their very first movements, and therefore showing externally and continuously that imperturbable peace in the midst of which his soul steadily shaped its course to the eternal shores.

'In the marvellous array of Christian virtues which always shone forth in him, one notes especially a prudence more than human, and a love of God, and of his neighbour for God, which consumed his heart with its seraphic and sweet fires. This gave him no respite in his whole-hearted efforts to procure that God and the Son of God, made Man for men, should by men be known, loved and glorified; and that men by knowing, loving, and obeying their Creator and Redeemer, should no longer fix their hopes on this present fugitive life, but should place their happiness in that life which never fails, in the vision and possession of the supreme good. This was the impression St. Ignatius made on those who dealt with him, despite the vigilant efforts and singular skill with which he endeavoured to hide the gifts which God had bestowed on his blessed soul; and such he appears in his letters, through a style, at times somewhat faulty, but always calm, simple, and void of all ornament.

'They show us a mind sure, vast, profound, comprehensive, fitted for speculation or action. In the management of men or affairs, he stands eminent among the foremost the world has known. His judgement was clear and solid. With sure vision he read the hearts of men, and detected accurately the twistings and turnings, the ins and outs, of their minds. He

possessed a marvellous discretion in treating with all characters, classes, and conditions. Mature deliberation, firmness of resolve, skill in counsel, compelling persuasion, vigorous execution, were his. He showed courage in facing difficult undertakings, and perseverance in carrying them through, constancy in supporting adversity, and resourcefulness in surmounting obstacles. He was ready at all points, grasped all details, knew when to give way and when to insist, to yield or hold fast, as circumstances indicated, to show severity or mildness, condescension or determination, as the case required.

'There burned in him a zeal, active, ardent, indefatigable, always meditating enterprises, battles, and victories to spread the greater glory of God; he desired and promoted with all his strength the extension of the kingdom of Jesus Christ on earth; he everywhere stood for the cause of his holy Church, and the re-birth of piety and holiness of life, wherever the glory of the Christian name had been tarnished. And all this was united with an unalterable sweetness and gentleness, ennobled by a largeness of heart, which rose above all labours or success, beautified by that noble and delicate urbanity, characteristic of Spanish chivalry of his day, enlightened by the supernatural illumination of heavenly wisdom. All this must have been seen and admired in his letters by the contemporaries to whom they were addressed—men less affected and sophisticated than those of to-day, but certainly men of greater wisdom, of clearer vision, and sounder heart.'

There is nothing to add to this magnificent portrait.

Ignatius was beatified by Paul V in 1609, and canonized by Gregory XV in 1622, together with St. Isidore, St. Francis Xavier, St. Teresa, and St. Philip Neri.

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